RECENT ANGLICISMS IN ROMANIAN

EVOLUTION AND INTEGRATION

ARINA GREAVU

PRESA UNIVERSITARĂ CLUJEANĂ

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INTRODUCTION

A popular name for the linguistic variety resulting from the use of English words in contemporary Romanian is 'romgleză'. This term was coined by Eugen Simion and subsequently used by language purists and not only, to decry the mixing of English and Romanian words into a seemingly hybrid and debased discourse form. The term in itself suggests a process which is gratuitous, haphazard and not governed by any rules, and as such has fuelled an attitude of criticism and rejection towards this area of linguistic innovation in present-day Romanian. Most often, the discourse about Anglicisms is based on several negative metaphors, the occurrence of English elements in Romanian discourse being described as an invasion and a menace to the language, but also as an indecency, something low and degrading that should trigger reactions of repulsion and rejection. In this context, the main purpose of this book is to study the English influence on present-day Romanian in several of its linguistic aspects, thus answering a call for the objective investigation of this phenomenon by effective means, not by "prejudice and intolerance, by purism and discrimination" (our translation) (Avram, 1997: 29).

The study will be conducted on a corpus of eight years of the economic publication *Capital*, and will examine English-origin elements both in their evolution over this period of time and with respect to their synchronic morphosyntactic behaviour (the year 2005). We believe that, due to its uninterrupted circulation and broad coverage in terms of topics discussed, the above mentioned publication can offer a reliable picture of the ongoing contact between English and Romanian.

In Chapter 1 we offer an overview of the field of language contact and try to define the main terms which will underlie the analysis conducted in the following chapters. The main theories regarding borrowing and code-switching are reviewed, as well as the relations these terms establish with each other and the various attempts that have been made to separate them, both on theoretical and on empirical grounds. Towards the end of this chapter we narrow down their meaning and present the acceptations in which these terms will be used in the present study.

Chapter 2 presents the main factors discussed in the literature as influencing the borrowing process. Some of these factors promote borrowing and can be used to explain it at various levels of analysis, while others constrain it, thus constituting barriers to inter-language transfers. Their interplay is an intricate and complex one, most loanwords being the result of a combination of several of these factors. This chapter also introduces the social, psychological, and pragmatic correlates of borrowing, thus setting a larger context for the description of this phenomenon. Finally, this context is narrowed down to the Romanian–English contact situation, which is described in a separate section. The main purpose of this description is to provide the social and historical backdrop against which English borrowings in Romanian will be analysed.

Chapter 3 presents the corpus of *Capital* 1998-2005, the various stages of data elicitation and analysis, as well as several diachronic considerations regarding the quantitative development of English borrowings over the studied period. The statistical data presented at this stage will constitute the backbone of the linguistic analysis of Anglicisms in subsequent chapters.

In Chapter 4 we analyse the distribution of borrowed words across the grammatical classes of Romanian, and offer a general descriptive overview for each of these classes. Based on the statistics resulting from this analysis, we put forth a hierarchy of borrowing

for Romanian—English contact, and compare it to a similar hierarchy abstracted from monolingual discourse (i.e. the corpus without Anglicisms). Other investigated aspects of the English elements in the corpus are constituted by various word-formation processes, such as derivation, compounding, and abbreviation.

The following two chapters focus on the morphosyntactic integration of simple and phrasal Anglicisms. In Chapter 5, the emphasis is on nominal Anglicisms, these constituting the largest category of borrowings in the studied corpus. We discuss gender assignment to borrowed nouns, as well as plural marking, definiteness, and case morphology. Special attention is given to the occurrence of bare forms (i.e. words lacking morphological marking) and the degree to which such forms diverge from Romanian linguistic norm, thus constituting instances of unconventional usage. This chapter also discusses the morphosyntactic integration of borrowed adjectives, adverbs, and verbs. The findings of this analysis are interpreted within the larger theoretical framework of the factors generally described in the literature as influencing loanword integration: word class, frequency of occurrence, age of existence in the recipient language, speakers' proficiency in the source language.

Chapter 6 begins with a descriptive overview of code-switches in general. Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame Model (1993, 2002) is introduced as being a useful explanatory framework within which code-switched elements in the *Capital* corpus will be discussed. Various quantitative and structural aspects of these elements are analysed, such as their distribution across different types of phrases, internal structural complexity, and morphosyntactic integration into Romanian. Finally, we compare the integration of code-switches to that of borrowings as described in Chapter 5.

It is hoped that the quantitative and qualitative analysis of Anglicisms in the *Capital* corpus will offer some valuable insights into the general mechanisms of English–Romanian borrowing and code-switching, thus revealing the current trends in the contact between the two languages.

CHAPTER I: THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF BORROWING

1.1 Borrowing: terminological issues

The study of linguistic borrowing is complicated by some very basic questions regarding the target and scope of such a study, as well as the choice of the terms used to describe this phenomenon. A satisfactory way to answer these questions should therefore involve the formulation of a coherent picture of the field, with an emphasis on defining its most important concepts and their relation to each other. This chapter presents some of the most important theoretical contributions on the topic to date, and tries to establish a terminological framework for the analysis conducted in the following chapters.

Attempts to explain the process and products of language contact date back to the heyday of linguistic scholarship in the nineteenth century. As Clyne reports (1987: 453, cited in Winford 2003: 6), great linguists like Muller (1875), Paul (1886), Johannes Schmidt (1872), and Schuchardt (1884) devoted a great deal of attention to the topic, as it was hoped its study would grant valuable insights into the nature and mechanisms of language change in general. The turn of the 20th century saw a proliferation of studies of borrowing. As the interest in language contact increased, it was paralleled by a proliferation of terms to describe its various facets, these terms being sometimes used with contradictory meanings by different writers. In this context, the most influential terminological frameworks of borrowing phenomena were established through the works of Bloomfield (1933), Haugen (1950, 1953, 1956), and

Weinreich (1968), the last two being generally acknowledged as the forefathers of language contact as a separate research field.

In his discussion of linguistic borrowing, Bloomfield (1933: 444) defines it as "the adoption of features which differ from those of the main tradition" and further subdivides it into dialect borrowing, "where the borrowed features come from within the same speech area" and cultural borrowing, "where the borrowed features come from a different language". Referring to the latter type of borrowing, he describes it as being the linguistic correlate of cultural diffusion: the passing on from one people to another of new objects and practices is generally accompanied by the borrowing of "speech forms" to designate these things. Although not explicitly stated, the features or speech forms that enter a language in the early stages of contact are understood to be lexical items.

Bloomfield also underlines several very important aspects of linguistic borrowing: the fuzzy borderline between dialect and language and consequently between dialect borrowing and cultural borrowing, the difficulty of establishing the exact moment a foreign word enters a language, the very fine distinction between form borrowing (loanwords) and meaning borrowing (loan-translations), the need for some underlying bilingualism within the borrowing language group in order for borrowing to take place in the early stages of contact.

An important observation that Bloomfield makes refers to the correlation between different levels of proficiency in the source language and different structures being borrowed from this language. Thus, while a low level of individual and societal bilingualism is usually correlated with lexical borrowing alone, more advanced bilingualism will lead to structural borrowing as well. For example, he shows that English has borrowed the cluster *[sk]* from Scandinavian loanwords, or the initials [*v-, z-, dz-*] from French, with the result that its phonetic system has been permanently altered.

Similarly, given the right social conditions, a large number of grammatical structures will be borrowed in addition to lexical items (e.g. the Latin-French suffixes *–ible, -able* used with English roots in words such as *bearable, eatable, drinkable*).

Although Bloomfield set some important directions in the study of linguistic borrowing, a more influential effort to define its terminology belongs to the American linguist Einar Haugen, in a series of publications beginning with 1950. Based on the analysis of English loans in the Norwegian of immigrants to the United States, Haugen put forth a theoretical framework of definitions and categories which are still in use today. Many of the metaphors used to describe the phenomenon, he believes, are inaccurate and misleading. For example, 'language mixing' wrongly suggests the possibility of creating an entirely new language out of existing ones, "as if they could be poured together into a cocktail shaker and result in an entirely new concoction" (1950: 211). Moreover, it suggests a process which is not rule-governed, but haphazard and random. 'Hybrid', on the other hand, is based on the presupposition that there is such a thing as a 'pure' language to start with. The metaphor of 'borrowing' as used to describe a linguistic phenomenon is not without problems either, as it calls to mind the idea of a voluntary and mutually agreed action, involving a debt on the part of the borrowing language, and implicitly the obligation to repay it:

> The metaphor implied is certainly absurd, since the borrowing takes place without the lender's consent, and the borrower is under no obligation to repay the loan. One might as well call it stealing, were it not that the owner is deprived of nothing and feels no urge to recover his goods. The process might be called an adoption, for the speaker does adopt elements from a second language into his own. But what would one call a word that has been adopted–an adoptee? (Haugen, 1950: 211).

However, he maintains the term and proceeds to give it "as precise a significance" as he can:

> The heart of our definition of borrowing is then THE ATTEMPTED REPRODUCTION IN ONE LANGUAGE OF PATTERNS PREVIOUSLY FOUND IN ANOTHER. (Haugen, 1950: 212)

Haugen's definition of borrowing involves the idea of reproduction, and consequently the need to compare the original pattern (the MODEL) to its imitation (the LOAN). Based on the results of this comparison, or on the loan's similarity to the model, two main kinds of reproduction can be identified: IMPORTATION and SUBSTITUTION. Importation occurs when "the loan is similar enough to the model so that a native speaker would accept it as his own", while substitution when "he has reproduced the model inadequately" (1950: 212), for example by replacing sounds from the source language with sounds from the recipient language. However, the two patterns may and often do meet at the level of a single loan, for example when a foreign word is adapted only partially to the system of the recipient language. In other words, loanword adoption into a language is very often accompanied by a process of adaptation, or 'adjustment of habits'. Haugen also notes that an important prerequisite of borrowing is bilingualism, which preconditions, but also triggers it:

> It (borrowing) is, in fact, unthinkable without the existence of bilinguals, and apparently inevitable where there is any considerable group of bilinguals. (Haugen, 1953: 363)

Although the term 'borrowing' is widely used and accepted, it is not the only one employed in the literature. In his seminal work *Languages in Contact. Findings and Problems,* Uriel Weinreich (1953, 1968) adopts the term 'interference' in order to cover various aspects of language contact (phonetic, grammatical, semantic, lexical), and to refer to any differences that may exist between the speech of the monolingual and that of the bilingual. Interference receives a broad

definition which encompasses all these aspects, without being restricted to those instances of accidental transfers between languages, as it is sometimes used in the literature. Thus, the term is defined as follows:

> Those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact, will be referred to as interference phenomena. (Weinreich, 1968: 1)

The term 'interference' is preferred to 'borrowing', especially when it comes to the highly structured domains of language (phonology, morphology, syntax and the core vocabulary), as it better captures the idea of systemic reorganization resulting from the introduction of foreign elements into a language, and avoids the oversimplification of presenting such introductions as "mere additions to an inventory". This theoretical stance is in line with the structuralist belief that any interference into one part of the system of a language will trigger a rearrangement of patterns somewhere else in this system.

The term 'borrowing' is not rejected completely, but it is restricted to describing a particular sub-class of interference. It can be used, Weinreich believes, to refer to foreign influences into the "more loosely patterned domains of a language", such as the vocabulary, with the mention that even such influences are not entirely irrelevant for the system of the recipient language as a whole. Within the larger category of 'lexical interference' he uses the term 'word transfer' to describe the process of borrowing, and 'loanword' to refer to its end-product, but also employs established terms such as 'loan-translations', 'loan-renditions', and 'loan-creations'. Referring to lexical borrowing, Weinreich notes that "The vocabulary of a language, considerably more loosely structured than its phonemics and grammar, is beyond question the domain of borrowing *par excellence*." (1968: 58).

This generous acceptation of 'interference' has been adopted by other writers after Weinreich, too. Baetens-Beardsmore (1982: 40), for example, employs the term very broadly to cover the use of "observable features of one code within the context of the other". According to this definition, interference can be used to describe any phonological, morphological, lexical or syntactic element, as well as less formal features (e.g. meaning associations), used by bilinguals in ways that do not coincide with those employed by monolinguals.

Haugen (1972), too, sees interference as an important and integral part of communication in a bilingual environment:

> We need to get away from the notion of 'interference' as somehow noxious and harmful to the languages. The bilingual finds that in communicating he is aided by the overlap between languages and he gets his message across by whatever devices are available to him at the moment of speaking. (Haugen, 1972: 322)

Other writers have given interference a lesser role, seeing it only as something sporadic and individual, as opposed to borrowing, which can be described as systematic and collective (Mackey 1968 cited in Romaine 1995; Appel and Muysken, 1987; Romaine, 1995). Appel and Muysken (1987: 165), for example, equate the term 'lexical interference' with that of 'nonce borrowing' and use it only for those foreign words that are used accidentally and marginally, without becoming integrated into the recipient language. Grosjean (2001: 299) goes one step farther and narrows down the meaning of 'interference' so as to describe only those instances of involuntary influence between two languages, while using the terms 'codeswitching' and 'borrowing' to refer to the more or less deliberate use of elements from one language in the context of another. In Grosjean's approach, borrowing is defined as the use of "a word or short expression that is adapted phonologically and morphologically to the language being spoken". Finally, other writers have had an even more radical position towards

'interference'. For example, Fishman (cited in Grosjean, 2001: 299) and Myers-Scotton (1992) consider the term to be inappropriate due to its perceived pejorative and disruptive connotations, and reject it altogether.

The complex and highly inconsistent definitions that 'interference' and 'borrowing' have received in the literature, as well as their unclear relation to each other, have led some writers to abandon them altogether and use other terms in order to refer to various language contact phenomena. For example, Clyne (1967, 2003) employs 'transference' as an umbrella term for the processes of language contact, and 'transfer' to refer to its products:

> In this study we shall term the adoption of any elements from another language *transference* and any example of it, be it a "loanword" or a "switch", a *transfer.* (Clyne, 1967: 19)

The term *transfer* is thought to be more suitable than the unsatisfactory 'loanword' and 'borrowing', as it covers other areas of language contact not examined by lexical borrowing (e.g. morphological, phonic, semantic, and syntactic influences exerted by one language over another). *Transference* in Clyne's terminology covers both borrowing into the "native language" (what he calls 'retroactive inhibition'), and the influence exerted by this on the "second language" ('proactive inhibition'). In both cases, the language adopting the transfer is called the recipient language, while the language from which the transfer is adopted is called the source language.

A very important contribution to the terminology of language contact belongs to Thomason and Kaufman (1988), who establish clear conceptual boundaries between terms. Two notions are central to their terminological framework: 'borrowing' and 'interference through shift', both seen as subtypes of interference in general. The term 'borrowing' is used in a narrower sense than that employed

elsewhere in the literature, being restricted only to those cases when foreign elements are incorporated into a speaker's native language:

> Borrowing is the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features. (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 37)

The first elements to be borrowed are words, although, when contact between source and borrowing language speakers becomes strong, structural features will also be borrowed. Widespread bilingualism is not required among recipient language speakers for lexical borrowing to take place, but structural borrowing cannot obtain in the absence of a high level of bilingualism. Borrowing is equated with *maintenance*, which means that the borrowing language is maintained, though changed, as a result of the introduction of new words and structures.

Substratum interference, on the other hand, is seen as "a subtype of interference resulting from imperfect foreign language learning during a process of language shift" (1988: 38). In such a situation, mainly due to attitudinal factors or to a limited availability of the target language (TL), the members of the shifting group do not learn this language perfectly. The errors they make in speaking it may spread to the TL as a whole when they are imitated by original speakers of that language, in this way leading to diachronic chance.

An important difference between borrowing and substratum interference is their place in the language. Thus, while borrowing begins with the vocabulary, interference through shift will affect the sounds, the syntax, or even the morphology of a language before words make their way into this language. Such lexical transfers remain few, Thomason and Kaufman show, and are generally restricted to areas for which the target language has no words: foods and other cultural items, names for local animals, plants, etc.

Another important difference between the two phenomena has to do with the time span required for each of them. In a borrowing situation, intensity of contact translated as time length and level of bilingualism is a decisive factor, extensive structural changes through borrowing requiring several hundred years of intimate contact and extensive bilingualism among borrowing-language speakers. A process of language shift, on the other hand, may take as little as a generation. A longer period of contact would hinder, rather than promote substratum interference: if the shifting group becomes fully bilingual in the target language, learning will no longer be imperfect so as to promote change.

The meaning of the term 'borrowing' is further restricted by other writers. Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988), for example, use it only in order to describe lexical material that has been adapted to the structural patterns of the recipient language, while the term 'loanword' is used to designate those words that also have a high frequency of occurrence and are widely accepted in the speech community:

> Lexical borrowing involves the incorporation of individual L2 words (or compounds functioning as single words) into discourse of L1, the host or recipient language, usually phonologically and morphologically adapted to conform with the patterns of that language, and occupying a sentence slot dictated by its syntax. The status of 'loanword', however, is traditionally conferred only on words which, in addition, recur relatively frequently, are widely used in the speech community, and have achieved a certain level of recognition or acceptance, if not normative approval. (Poplack et al., 1988: 52)

Myers-Scotton (2006) restricts the term 'borrowing' even more, so as to refer to the adoption of content words like nouns or verbs, but not to that of grammatical elements, presumably because the adoption of grammatical structures depends on different cognitive processes. An important component of borrowing is incorporation, which is

reminiscent of Poplack's requirement regarding the integration of borrowed elements into recipient language structures:

> Here, we talk about lexical borrowing as incorporating words from one language (the **donor language**) in another (the **recipient language**). (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 211)

More general terms are employed by other writers alongside 'borrowing' in order to describe the processes and products of language contact. Thus, in order to replace the vague and often contradictory 'interference', Winford (2003: 12) uses terms such as "contact-induced changes" and "cross-linguistic influence" as "general labels to cover all kinds of influence by one language on another". Romaine (1995: 52) finds the term 'cross-linguistic influence' proposed by Sharwood-Smith and Kellerman (1986:1) appealing for its neutral connotations, but thinks that other, more specific terms need to supplement it in order to refer to the various types of inter-language transfers (e.g. calques, loanblends, etc). Cross-linguistic influence at the lexical level or 'lexical influence' is used as a synonym for borrowing.

The borrowing metaphor has been rejected altogether by some writers, who believe that it cannot be used to adequately describe a linguistic phenomenon. For example, Johanson (1993: 201-202) believes that the word 'borrowing' falsely implies an identity between the original (the foreign word as used in the source language) and the copy (the foreign word as used in the recipient language). This sort of equivalence or complete adoption does not exist, Johanson argues. Instead, some element from the other language is copied, and now belongs to the recipient language, which subjects it to a process of adjustment to its rules and procedures. The general term he puts forth in order to describe the addition of new features to a language is that of *copying*, with the recipient language being the *basic code*, while the source or donor language is the code that is "switched" or "borrowed from". Just like

Clyne's approach, Johanson's code-copying theory has the advantage of treating various language contact phenomena not as different, but as fundamentally similar processes, thus yielding a comprehensive and unitary picture of the field of language contact.

The conclusion that stands out from this introduction to borrowing is that the field of language contact is far from having a unitary and consistent terminology. This situation is the result of the large number of phenomena that can be included under the umbrella term of language contact, and of the fuzzy conceptual boundaries existing between these phenomena. The term borrowing is very often used in the literature, although sometimes with different meanings by different writers. A related and sometimes competing concept that has only been touched upon so far is that of 'code-switching'. The following section offers an overview of the main attempts to separate the two processes, both on theoretical and on empirical grounds.

1.2 The borrowing–code-switching dichotomy

As Milroy and Muysken (1995) show, the borrowing/code-switching dichotomy is a relatively new consideration in the language contact literature, its study having been stimulated by a recent change in interest from borrowing alone to the area of code-switching, as a pervasive phenomenon characterizing bilingual communities across the world. As a result of some deep social changes in the last decades of the 20th century, the monolingual society was no longer assumed to be the norm, bilingualism increasingly becoming a distinctive mark of the contemporary world. Referring to the historical conditions which have fueled this field of research Milroy and Muysken write:

> In the last forty years or so, developments such as the expansion of educational provision to many more levels of society, massive

> population shifts through migration, and technological advances in mass communication have served to accentuate our sense of a visibly and audibly multilingual modern world. Other large-scale social changes have combined to lead to a considerable increase in bilingualism, not only as a European, but as a world-wide phenomenon. (Milroy et al., 1995:1)

Thus, the factors that have played an important part in the emergence of bilingual and multilingual nations are modernisation and globalisation, the recent interest in large-scale language revival, as well as the migration of people from poor countries to the rich industrial West. All these are important phenomena that have led to the co-existence within the same area or social group of several languages, the authors show, for example a regional language or the language of a particular social group, a national language, and an international language. Within this context, code-switching has gained prominence as a communicative strategy, which in turn has attracted attention to its study.

Another term used with similar meanings in the literature is that of 'code-mixing'. Clyne (2003: 71) points out that some scholars (Kachru, 1978; Pfaff, 1979; Bokamba, 1988) differentiate between code-mixing and code-switching either based on form (according to Kachru, 1978 code-switching is inter-sentential while code-mixing is intra-sentential) or on contextual criteria (code-switching marks a change in the social situation). Sometimes the term code-mixing is used for switching of smaller units such as words or idiomatic expressions, while code-switching refers to the switching of larger constituents (Pandharipande, 1990: 16). Still other writers see the two concepts as being inclusive of each other. For example, Halmari (1997), McClure (2002), and Myers-Scotton (1993, 2002) use 'code-switching' as the umbrella term, while Treffers-Daller (1994) and Muysken (2000) employ 'code-mixing' as the generic term. Muysken makes the distinction between code-switching and code-mixing in

terms of the distinction between language alternation and constituent insertion:

> I avoid using the term code-switching for the general process of mixing. Switching is only an appropriate term for the alternational type of mixing. The term code-switching is less neutral in two ways: as a term it already suggests something like alternation (as opposed to insertion), and it separates code-mixing too strongly from phenomena of borrowing and interference. (Muysken, 2000: 5)

This lack of agreement as to what exactly code-switching is and what types of linguistic forms it can be taken to include explains the difficulty of distinguishing it from borrowing, the theoretical and empirical separation of the two phenomena being one of the thorniest problems that face researchers in the field. One of the early criteria used to separate borrowings from code-switches was constituent length. Uriel Weinreich's (1968: 73) characterization of the ideal bilingual as an individual who "switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in speech situation (interlocutors, topic, etc) but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence" illustrates an early view of code-switching, which is mainly topic-based and involves variables such as conversation situation and participants. This view of code-switching as involving whole clauses or sentences was later supported by other writers (Gumperz, 1982; Sridhar and Sridhar, 1980), who also employed the term with a broad, discourse function.

Other early researchers (Reyes, 1974; Gingras, 1974 cited in Grosjean, 2001) often excluded single foreign language lexemes from the class of code-switches, considering them borrowings. For example, Reyes (1974) believes that borrowing involves only single words that can be either morphologically adapted (incorporated borrowings) or not adapted (spontaneous borrowings), while switching takes place at clearly discernible points and involves

longer constituents. Schaffer (1978 cited in Grosjean, 2001), too, states that "Switching would therefore seem to involve entire phrases rather than single words", while Clyne (1967: 19) correlates switching with constituent length, referring to it as "multiple transference."

However, the length-of-constituent criterion has not been unanimously accepted in the literature, many writers regarding single words as switches, too. Pfaff (1979: 293) for example, analyses the switching to English of "single lexical items, phrases and clauses". Bentahila and Davies (1983), too, disagree with the view that borrowings are single words, while code-switches are longer phrases, and remark that

> It is after all possible for whole phrases to be borrowed and integrated into another language (consider examples in English like *tete-a-tete, faux pas, savoir faire*); and there seems no reason to exclude the possibility of a switch involving a single item. (Bentahila et al., 1983: 303)

This theoretical position is reflected in a number of relatively recent studies which include single words in the category of code-switches alongside longer constituents (Myers-Scotton, 1993; Backus, 1996; Halmari, 1997; Boumans, 1998). Moreover, some researchers studying the contact between two specific languages even remark on the numerical superiority of single switches over multi-word ones. Thus, Nortier (1990, cited in Myers-Scotton, 1993: 31) finds that the largest group of switches from Moroccan Arabic into Dutch is represented by insertions of single words.

Once the concept of code-switching had been narrowed down to word level, an important concern among language contact specialists was to find a principled way of distinguishing single-word code-switches from borrowings, a category which is traditionally and prototypically thought to include single words. An important yardstick used to separate the two language contact

phenomena was their degree of adaptation to the recipient language. This criterion was used implicitly or explicitly by some of the forefathers of language contact, e.g. Bloomfield (1933), Weinreich (1953), Haugen (1950, 1953), who believed that morphological and phonological integration into the recipient language were important characteristics of borrowings. For example, Haugen (1956: 40) even used the term 'integration' instead of borrowing, describing it as "the regular use of material from one language in another so that there is no longer either switching or overlapping except in a historical sense", in contrast to switching, "when a bilingual introduces a completely unassimilated word from another language into his speech."

Although many other writers after Haugen have made various attempts to separate borrowing and code-switching on theoretical and practical grounds (e.g. Bentahila and Davies, 1983; Sridhar and Sridhar, 1980), the most important contribution on the topic came from Poplack and her associates in a number of articles starting with 1980 (Poplack, 1980; Poplack and Sankoff, 1984; Poplack, Sankoff and Miller, 1988; Poplack, Wheeler and Westwood, 1990; Sankoff, Poplack and Vanniarajan, 1990; Poplack and Meechan, 1995). The main tenet of their theory is that borrowing and code-switching are fundamentally different phenomena:

> (…) borrowing is a very different process from code-switching, subject to different constraints and conditions. (Sankoff et al., 1990: 74)

Linguistic integration into the recipient language is regarded as a particularly useful criterion for the separation of the two processes. Based on it, the clearest cases of borrowings are single words showing phonological, morphological, and syntactic integration into the host language, although phonological integration may not always be complete. Code-switching, on the other hand, usually involves foreign forms showing either complete lack of integration, or only phonological/syntactic integration into the recipient

language. The table below shows a word's status in bilingual discourse based on the integration criterion:

Type	Levels of integration into base language			CS?	Example
	Phon	Morph	Syn		
1	✓	✓	✓	No	Es possible que te Mogueen (They might mug you)
2	-	-	✓	Yes	Las palabras HEAVY-DUTY, bien grandes, se me han olvidado: (I've forgotten the real big, heavy-duty words)
3	✓	-	-	Yes	[da 'wari se]
4	-	-	-	Yes	No creo que son fifty-dollar suede ones (I don't think they're fifty-dollar suede ones)

Figure 1.1 Identification of code-switching according to type of integration into the base language (Poplack 1980: 584)

According to this classification, the following two extreme situations emerge: a code-switch is maximally distinct from the surrounding discourse (type 4), while a loanword is identical to recipient language material on the basis of synchronic considerations alone (type 1). The principle of linguistic integration as a useful tool in separating cases of borrowings from those of code-switches was later reformulated by Poplack and her associates in terms of the contributions the recipient and the source language grammars make to bilingual sentences:

> Whereas in code switching the speaker alternates between one coherent grammar (and lexicon) and another, according to certain

> predictable syntactic constraints on switch points, in borrowing only one grammatical system is brought into play. (Poplack et al., 1988: 93)

In other words, if a sentence has the syntax and the morphology of one language, any foreign element or any element not native to that language must be a borrowing. Borrowing is, therefore, the result of the vocabularies of two languages coming into contact. If, on the other hand, we are dealing with the "juxtaposition of sentences or sentence fragments, each of which is internally consistent with the morphological and syntactic (and optionally, phonological) rules of the lexifier language" (Poplack and Meechan, 1995: 200), then code-switching is the case. In other words, code-switching appears when both the lexicons and the grammars of two languages come into contact. From this perspective, single words of English origin used in Romanian discourse can be regarded as instances of borrowings, especially if their behaviour conforms to the morphosyntactic rules of the recipient language. If, on the other hand, English phrases showing internal structural dependency relations are inserted into Romanian discourse, these illustrate a Romanian–English code-switching process.

The criterion of morphosyntactic integration has proven particularly useful in the analysis of typologically different language pairs. For example, in a study of Ukrainian–English contact Poplack and Budzhak-Jones (1998) compare the distribution of all English-origin nouns morphologically marked for Ukrainian with that of native Ukrainian nouns, and show that the English-origin nouns do not behave differently from their native counterparts. As a consequence, they can be described as borrowings rather than code-switches. Similarly, Poplack and Meechan (1995) show that single French-origin nouns in Wolof and Fongbe discourse behave like monolingual Wolof and Fongbe nouns with regard to their modification patterns, and consequently qualify as borrowings.

However, the separation of single word switches from single word borrowings based on integration considerations is not very useful when the two languages in contact show few differences between their grammars. Poplack et al. (1988) concede that the distinction cannot be made in French–English bilingualism for example, because the grammars of the two languages are typologically close (noun morphology is most frequently null in both languages, and word order is very similar). The same argument can be advanced for Romanian–English contact, as in this case, too, the two languages in question present some morphological and syntactic similarities.

In addition to the impediments of an empirical nature described above, there are also theoretical problems regarding the attempted borrowing/code-switching separation on the criterion of grammar vs lexicon interaction. For example, Treffers-Daller (1994: 90) shows that this distinction has become problematic lately because many syntactic features are assumed to be part of the lexicon or of individual lexical items. This has led to a blurring of the line between the grammar and the lexicon, which, in turn, has made borrowing and code-switching very similar from a theoretical point of view.

Linguistic integration is, however, only one of the several instruments that can be used to separate code-switching from borrowing, and it usually combines with elements of a social nature such as foreign-element frequency of use and acceptability across the recipient language community. In a very comprehensive attempt to systemise the differences between code-switching and borrowing, Poplack and Sankoff (1984) used several criteria abstracted from the work of earlier writers and later summarised by Muysken (2000: 73) as follows:

	Borrowing	Code-mixing
No more than one word	+	-
Adaptation: phonological	+	+/-
morphological	+	-
syntactic	+	-
Frequent use	+	-
Replaces own word	+	-
Recognized as own word	+	-
Semantic change	+	-

Figure 1.2 Features of code-mixing and borrowing according to Poplack and Sankoff (1984)(source: Muysken, 2000: 73)

A particularly useful criterion employed in solving the code-switching/borrowing dichotomy is frequency of use. In detail, the more frequently a foreign feature is used in a language, the more likely that it is a loanword. Other criteria are native-language synonym displacement and acceptability, i.e. if native language speakers judge a donor-language word to be an appropriate designation, then this is a loanword. Based on these criteria, the following characteristics of borrowings can be formulated: they are usually single words, phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically adapted to the recipient language, frequently used and widely accepted among recipient language speakers, and diverging semantically from their source language counterparts. As opposed to them, code-switches can be described as being multi-word items, morphologically, phonologically, and semantically unintegrated into the system of the recipient language, and not meeting the criteria of diffusion and acceptance among its speakers.

Poplack et al. note, however, that these criteria represent only rough approximations, as they cannot be always expected to make the correct predictions. For example, a word may be frequently used only because it appears frequently in code-switched elements, but without being a loanword as such (for example, the determiner *the* occurs frequently in code-switched noun phrases). Similarly, a word

may be phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically integrated into the recipient language because the speaker has little productive competence in the donor language, or due to inter-lingual coincidence between the two languages. Finally, acceptability is said to be "notoriously misleading, especially in contexts where the recipient language is socially inferior to the donor" (1984: 104), as acceptability tests can be heavily influenced by prestige considerations regarding the two languages in contact. Moreover, this criterion does not always correlate correctly with other criteria, e.g. translatability or integration. For example, Hasselmo reports on Swedish–English bilingualism cases where words of English origin that showed low translatability displayed, however, high acceptability. In spite of these discrepancies, the four criteria are thought to be interrelated in a coherent and systematic way:

> (…) as a borrowed word is more and more used, it tends to become phonologically and morphologically integrated, to displace competing recipient language forms, and at least eventually, to become accepted by its native speakers. (Poplack et al., 1984: 105).

In order to reconcile the sometimes contradictory predictions made by these individual criteria, Poplack and her associates establish the category of 'nonce borrowings': these are foreign words which occur infrequently or only once in a data corpus, but show morphosyntactic integration into the recipient language (Sankoff and Poplack, 1981; Poplack, Sankoff and Miller, 1988). In other words, they are in-between-cases that satisfy the linguistic criterion of integration but not the social one, and therefore fail to qualify both as full-fledged loanwords and as single word code-switches. Nonce borrowing is defined as follows:

> (…) it differs from borrowing in the traditional usage mainly in the social sense–nonce borrowings are not necessarily recurrent or widely recognized in the community as loanwords. They are, however, morphologically and syntactically incorporated into the host language.

> The necessity of phonological adoption is not clear at this point and may differ from community to community and individual to individual. Thus nonce and established borrowing are two extremes of a continuum in which the distinguishing parameter is not linguistic but social. (Sankoff et al., 1981: 12)

This category is broadly equivalent with similar classes put forth by other writers: speech borrowings (Grosjean 2001), spontaneous borrowings (Reyes 1974), unassimilated loans (Haugen 1953).

The various criteria discussed above have received different names in other terminological frameworks. For example, Muysken (2000) distinguishes borrowing and code-switching by using the concepts of *sublexical mode/supralexical mode* to refer to the single word/multiword distinction of other frameworks, and *listedness* to refer to a foreign element's diffusion and acceptability. The sublexical mode, or language mixing at word level, is characteristic of borrowings, while the supra-lexical or syntactic mode, i.e. mixing at the level above the word, characterizes code-switches. Listedness on the other hand is "the degree to which a particular element or structure is part of a memorized list which has gained acceptance within a particular speech community" (2000: 71) and is characteristic only of established borrowings. Based on these criteria, the outcomes of language contact can be placed on a scale running from essentially creative (code-switches) to essentially reproductive (borrowings). The sublexical mode is generally correlated to the element of listedness, while the supra-lexical or syntactic mode is more likely to lack this characteristic. Within this theoretical framework, the code-switching/borrowing dichotomy has been summarized as follows:

	Non-listed	**Listed**
Supra-lexical	Code-mixing	Conventionalized code-mixing
Sublexical	Nonce loans	Established loans

Figure 1.3 Borrowings vs codeswitches (Muysken, 2000: 72)

A similar distinction to that proposed by Muysken is made by Myers-Scotton (1990, 1993), who believes that "if a B (borrowed) form has been integrated into the ML to encode a particular concept, its occurrence can be predicted" (1993: 194); code-switches, on the other hand, do not show this predictability. This separation on predictability grounds can be formulated in terms of a specified form vs a specified pattern (Myers-Scotton, 1990: 104) and coincides with Muysken's listedness /non-listedness distinction. Moreover, Myers-Scotton argues for a fundamental difference between the two categories from the perspective of speech production mechanisms. Thus, because the frequency of borrowed elements is higher than that of code-switched forms, their status in the speakers' mental lexicon is also different: lemmas underlying code-switches are only tagged for the source language, while borrowings have lemmas tagged for both the donor and the recipient language, at least in the mental lexicon of bilinguals in those languages.

Some writers have tried to explain the borrowing/code-switching dichotomy from a psycho-sociolinguistic perspective. An idea that has received considerable support in the literature is that code-switching and borrowing perform different functions in the recipient language. For example, Myers-Scotton (1990: 104) argues that "code-switching is a negotiation of position, that people switch codes because of personal motivations". In other words, being aliens in the 'matrix' or recipient language, code-switches can convey micro-level social meaning, unlike borrowings which have been neutralized in this respect as a result of their integration into the language. This means, the author argues, that people switch codes but do not use borrowings in order to signal symbolic relations between the participants in the conversation.

The view that borrowings fill lexical gaps in the recipient language, while code-switches are gratuitous and carry a symbolic rather than a referential meaning is correlated with the classical

factors promoting borrowing in general, need and prestige, and can be interpreted as equating code-switches with the "unnecessary" or "luxury" borrowings of other terminological frameworks. Romaine (1995) describes this situation as follows:

> Although it is popularly believed by bilingual speakers themselves that they mix or borrow because they don't know the term in one language or another, it is often the case that switching occurs most often for items which people know and use in both languages. It is also true that one of the most common discourse functions of code-switching is to repeat the same thing in both languages. (Romaine, 1995: 143)

However, the view according to which borrowing is simply a form of vocabulary extension, while code-switching has primarily a symbolic function is not unanimously accepted in the literature, especially since foreign words sometimes show an inherent contradiction between form (integration) and function (frequency of use). For some writers (Muysken, 2000) this means that borrowed forms may sometimes convey certain connotations normally expressed by code-switches:

> It is not always the case, however, that borrowing can be seen as a form of simple vocabulary extension, and that code-mixing has a primarily symbolic function, e.g. marking a mixed cultural identity. I will argue that what might be formally characterized as borrowed elements particularly in bilingual discourse take on certain discourse functions of code-mixings. This result perhaps throws some light on the question of why 'nonce borrowings' are so controversial. In the perspective taken here they constitute a class of elements that formally might be grouped with borrowing, and functionally can, in certain circumstances, be grouped with code-mixing, namely when the borrowing primarily has a symbolic function. (Muysken, 2000: 69)

The discussion on the borrowing/code-switching dichotomy so far has reviewed the most important diagnostic criteria used to separate the two language contact phenomena. Unfortunately, all these

criteria were eventually found to allow for exceptions. Appel and Muysken (1987: 172), for example, think that the separation of code-mixing and borrowing based on morphological and phonological integration is problematic for at least two reasons: borrowed items may be integrated phonologically in different degrees, and not all non-adapted items result from a process of code-mixing. Based on these observations, they conclude that although the distinction has a theoretical basis "in the difference between use of two systems (mixing) and adoption into a system (borrowing)", "it is not possible to distinguish individual cases of code-mixing from yet-not-integrated borrowings on the basis of simple diagnostic criteria." (1987: 173).

The criterion of phonological integration has met with some reservations in the works of other writers as well. Thus, Myers-Scotton (1993: 177) shows that the same psycho-sociolinguistic factors that promote the borrowing of core words (words from the basic vocabulary for which the recipient language already has equivalents), also favour their non-integration into this language. This happens especially when the source language is the language of a group with more socio-economic prestige than that of the recipient language group, or when the source language is prominent in the educational system.

Psycho-sociolinguistic factors such as those described by Myers-Scotton can be expected to influence the integration of English borrowings in contemporary Romanian. Thus, both the prestige English enjoys as a global language of business and communication and the increasing level of English proficiency among Romanian speakers, are factors that can considerably slow down the adaptation of words borrowed from this language. This new development in Romanian/English contact was discussed by Mioara Avram, who remarked on a tendency towards the etymological writing of

Anglicisms on the English model, predicting that this phenomenon will continue:

> Anglicismele furnizează cel mai mare procent de abateri de la aplicarea principiului fonetic (mai exact, fonologic) în ortografia limbii române și e greu de imaginat că generațiile care stăpânesc din ce în ce mai bine engleza vor accepta românizarea celor scrise cu ortografia etimologică originară. (Avram, 1997: 14)

Myers-Scotton (1990) also shows that educated speakers may practice what is called 'elite closure', which involves making their speech different from that of the masses, for example by preserving source language phonological patterns, or pronouncing loans as close to the original as possible. Thus, as noticed by Haugen (1950, 1953, 1956) in his study of American/Norwegian speech, the socio-linguistic circumstances surrounding the contact situation seem to override time-depth when it comes to the integration of borrowings.

Morphological adaptation as a diagnostic criterion in distinguishing borrowing from code-switching presents an oversimplified picture, too, because it assumes that there is only one possible pattern of integration, while real speech data reveals several such patterns. Myers-Scotton summarises these patterns as follows:

> (a) not all B forms show complete morphological integration; (b) most CS forms in ML+ EL constituents regularly show near-complete morphological integration; (c) when there is incomplete morphological integration, it may characterize both B and CS forms *in contrast to* indigenous forms; and (d) both forms show syntactic integration. (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 191)

The following chapters of this book will show that this complex integration pattern characterizes all kinds of English elements that have been adopted into Romanian: both English single words and longer phrases can be only partly integrated (for example by showing number but not case) or can be integrated in some of their occurrences but used as bare forms with zero Romanian morphology

in others. On the other hand, both types of English elements show almost categorical syntactic integration.

The other criteria used in the literature for separating borrowing from code-switching are not without problems either, a more detailed analysis of actual speech data uncovering more similarities than differences between the two processes in question. For example, Gardner-Chloros (1995: 73-74) shows that both loanwords and code-switches can fill lexical gaps, as well as double already existing words in the recipient language, and they both show similar word class preferences. In other words, both loans and code-switches are most often nouns although all grammatical categories "are potentially borrowable". This view receives support from a study by Nortier, who found that out of 371 switches of Dutch words into Morrocan Arabic, 285 were nouns. An earlier study (Nortier and Schatz, 1988) also showed that nouns accounted for most of the borrowings in the same language pair, with 77.4% of all loanwords belonging to this category.

Other writers have also discussed the less-than perfect character of different criteria used to separate borrowings from code-switches. Heath (1984: 368-369), for example, notices the discrepancy existing sometimes between the linguistic and the social adaptation of a word, or its frequency of occurrence in a speech community. Thus, an element can be a code-switch on formal grounds, in that it is not integrated into the recipient language, but an instance of borrowing on functional grounds, displaying a relatively high frequency of occurrence. The following scenarios illustrate deviations from the neat linguistic–social correlation proposed by other writers:

> In addition to forms of L2 origin now formally adapted and commonly used in L1, we have formally unadapted L2 items in common use in L1, and new, spontaneously adapted L2 forms (with L1 affixes) which are not in regular use. (Heath, 1984)

Frequency of occurrence as a solid criterion for distinguishing borrowings from code-switches is problematic mainly because it is difficult to establish. Boumans (1998) believes that absolute frequency is misleading, since the frequency of a lexical item depends very much on the frequency in speech of the concept it encodes. Relative frequency on the other hand, or the frequency of a word relative to its recipient language counterpart, is also complicated by variables such as size of corpus under analysis (a word may appear to be a borrowing in a large corpus, but a code-switched form in a smaller one, or with particular speakers), topics under discussion, the speech style, and the interlocutors present. Boumans also shows that, as a result of the mechanisms for creating lexical cohesion, the probability of a word being used in a text increases once it has been mentioned, which further undermines the validity of frequency as a diagnostic tool in separating borrowing and code-switching.

The problematic nature of various criteria proposed in the literature for solving the borrowing/code-switching dichotomy has led many researchers (e.g. Myers-Scotton, 1993; Treffers-Daller, 1994; Backus, 1996) to claim that the two processes cannot be separated as clearly as it may have been thought, representing a continuum in the bilingual speaker's mind and therefore being indistinguishable from a synchronic perspective. Moreover, many writers (Gardner-Chloros, 1987; Heath, 1989; Mougeon and Beniak, 1991) maintain that borrowing and code-switching are intrinsically connected at all levels, in that every loanword starts out as a code-switch, which is generalized and spread through the community by dint of repetition. This connection between code-switches and borrowings is explained by Gardner - Chloros:

> (…) it would appear that the distinction between code-switching and loans is of a 'more or less' and not an absolute nature… If it is an innovation on the speaker's part, it is code-switching. If it is frequently

> used in that community–whether or not in free variation with a native element–then it is at least on its way to becoming a loan. In short, a loan is a code-switch with a full-time job. (Gardner-Chloros, 1987: 102 cited in McClure, 2002: 131)

Thus, borrowing is a mere by-product of code-switching, both processes being subject to a common set of principles and constraints. The same claim to a fundamental similarity between borrowing and code-switching is made by Myers-Scotton, but mainly from the psycholinguistic perspective of speech production mechanisms:

> The general argument is that singly occurring forms originating with the EL, whether CS or borrowed forms (hereafter B forms), are part of the same developmental continuum, not unrelated phenomena, as some have argued. Evidence is that they undergo largely the same morphosyntactic procedures (of the Matrix Language, or ML) during language production. Therefore, it turns out, the motivation for distinguishing them in order to assess models of morphosyntactic constraints on CS seems to evaporate, at least for content morphemes. (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 163)

The many problems existing in the separation of borrowing and code-switching has led some researchers to claim that it is perhaps better to drop the conceptual distinction between the two phenomena altogether. While admitting that the two categories are of heuristic value, Heath (1984: 369) still refers to this classification as "treacherous" and notes that it is not of much use in analyzing actual speech data, which is inherently complicated by variables such as degrees of adaptation, regularity of use, and native-speaker recognition of foreignness. Several writers in the field of language contact have actually based their research on a theoretical position which does not recognize the existence of borrowing and code-switching as two different processes.

For example, analyzing the contact between Dutch and Morrocan Arabic, Boumans (1998) uses the term ‘foreign lexemes’ to speak about all ‘words from another language’, without attempting a more detailed classification, and is of the opinion that distinguishing borrowings from code-switches does not always yield any valuable insights into the nature of actual language contact. Although noticing the different behaviour of these foreign words in terms of their integration, frequency, and other related elements, he refrains from attributing these differences to their status as borrowings or code-switches.

Treffers-Daller (1994: 90) is also of the opinion that although “most researchers in the field tend to consider codemixing and borrowing as fundamentally different phenomena, there are important theoretical and practical advantages to an approach that considers code-mixing and borrowing as fundamentally similar”, and proposes to abandon these two concepts in their present definition. She puts forth a classification based on length (single words are borrowings while longer phrases are instances of code-mixing), which can be further paralleled by that between lexical categories (borrowings) and syntactic constituents (code-mixes). The advantage of this position is that the distinction between categories and constituents can be made on objective grounds (i.e. length), contrary to making the distinction between code-mixing and borrowing, which uses different criteria not so clearly definable. Moreover, the different integration “routines” followed by one-word and multi-word transfers, as well as their diverging syntactic behavior, seem to support this distinction.

The classification based on constituent length will also be adopted in this study, which will analyse single English words (including compounds) and phrasal importations into Romanian as distinct categories. This methodological choice is in line with Treffers-Daller’s proposal, but also conforms to Muysken’s (2000)

distinction between the sublexical and supralexical mode of mixing discussed in this chapter. More specifically, the notion of code-switching will be seen in the light of Myers-Scotton's (1993, 2002) Embedded Language islands, which will be introduced in Chapter 6. As a result of this methodological choice, the term 'borrowing' will be used to cover elements that are considered switches by other writers, i.e. any English word used in Romanian, including dictionary-listed compounds. 'Borrowing' will be used as defined by Haugen (1950, 1953), Thomason and Kaufman (1988), Meyers-Scotton (1993), and other researchers who employ it to refer to elements of a foreign language (the source or donor language) being used in the context of another one (the recipient or host language). The term code-switch will be used to describe two- or multiword English phrases used in Romanian discourse.

1.3 Classification of borrowings

1.3.1 Classification according to form

The classification of words borrowed from one language into another was one of the first aspects of their study to have engaged the attention of writers in the field. Treffers-Daller (2000: 2) shows that the special interest in the forms borrowed material could take was motivated by the fact that in the early stages of language contact study the emphasis was mainly on the products of borrowing, rather than on the process in itself. It was also a consequence of the large array of possible combinational patterns between native and foreign material, which in turn reflected the highly selective character of the borrowing process. These underlying linguistic realities formed the backdrop against which various proposals for classification emerged, some of which are still in use today.

Winford (2003: 42) reports on attempts to classify borrowings as early as the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, for example by Paul (1886), Seiler (1907-1913), Kaufman (1939), and Betz (1949). However, one of the most comprehensive taxonomies of borrowings was developed by Haugen, based on the analysis of the speech of Norwegian immigrants into the United States.

Underlying Haugen's terminological framework is the idea that borrowing results from the joint action of two main mechanisms, importation and substitution. Depending on the way in which these two mechanisms combine in the borrowing process, the outcomes of this process can range on a form–meaning continuum from foreign forms being borrowed together with their meanings, to meanings entering a language on their own. In broad lines, Haugen's terminology of borrowing includes two main categories, loanwords and loanshifts, each of these in their turn containing other subcategories. In detail, the following table presents the elements of this complex taxonomy, with some examples from Romanian:

Types	**Processes involved**	**Examples**
A. Loanword (imports new morphemes, in part or whole)		
1. Pure loanwords	a. Unassimilated (no phonemic substitution)	*duty-free* 'duty-free'
	b. Partly assimilated (some phonemic substitution)	*management* 'management'
	c. Wholly assimilated (complete phonemic substitution)	*bungalou* 'bungalow'
2. Loanblends	Combination of native and imported morphemes	
2a. Stems	Meaningless suffix substituted	
2b. Derivative	a. Imported stem+ native affix	*brandare* Eng. brand + Rom. –are

	b. Native stem+ imported affix	*e-facturi* 'e-invoices'
2c. Compound	Imported stem + native stem (marginal)	*crash-teste* 'crash'+ tests
	Imported stem + native stem (nuclear)	*brand-mamă* 'parent' + brand
B. Loanshift (substitutes native morphemes)		
1. Extensions (semantic loans)	a. Homophonous (resembles model only phonetically)	*a aplica* 'to apply' (R. *a solicita*)
	b. Homologous (resembles model phonetically and semantically)	*domestic* 'domestic' (R. *intern*)
	c. Synonymous (resembles model only semantically)	Absent in Rom. AmP *frio* 'cold'
2. Creations	a Literal (arrangement identical with that of model)	*prima doamnă* (E. 'first lady')
	b Approximate (arrangement different from that of the model)	*zgârie-nori* (E. skyscraper)

Table 1.1 Types of borrowings according to Haugen (1953: 402-403)

Loanwords "show morphemic importation without substitution" (Haugen 1950: 214). In other words, a language borrows both the form and the meaning of a foreign word, which usually undergoes a process of phonetic integration into the structures of the recipient language. For example the borrowed 'bungalou' does not correspond entirely to the English word it imitates; however it is unmistakably of English origin.

A loanblend, on the other hand, shows partial morphemic substitution as well as importation. This means that only some part of the form of a foreign word is borrowed, while some part is

replaced with native material (whole words or affixes) in order to render the full meaning of the model. This category comprises blended derivatives and blended compounds.

'Blended derivatives' occur when native suffixes are substituted for the foreign. For example in PaG (Pennsylvania German) *–ig* is often substituted for E *–y*, as in *bassig* 'bossy', *fonnig* 'funny', *tricksig* 'tricky' (Haugen, 1953: 399), while in Romanian *-are* often replaces the English *–ing* as in *targetare* 'targeting', *brandare* 'branding', *clonare* 'cloning'. This pattern represents a more advanced stage in the process of phonetic or morphological adaptation speakers perform when reproducing words from another language, some writers even doubting the validity of its classification as a direct outcome of contact. For example, Winford (2003: 44) claims that "Most "loanblends" (…) arise when native (recipient language-RL) derivational processes are applied to previously imported words."

A distinct subclass of loanblends is represented by 'blended stems', involving a suffix substitution which is in itself meaningless. For example AmN (American Norwegian) reproduces the E *–er* as /er/; when it does not go this path, we are dealing with a blended stem, e.g. *corner* reproduced as *karrna*. Haugen suggests that a high perceived similarity between a native word and a foreign one might be used to explain this strategy. Thus, the substitution of *-a* for *-er* in the example above is explained as a result of the analogy between *corner* and the Norwegian word for it, *hyrnna*.

Hybrid compounds or blended compounds in Haugen's taxonomy are those words consisting of both source and recipient language stems. Substitution in blended compounds, Haugen shows, requires the speaker's ability to analyze the model he is imitating. For example PaG (Pennsylvania German) adopted AmE *plum pie* as [blauməpai], because the German speaker, being aware of the compositional nature of this word, was able to 'break' it into component parts and import the English 'pie' but substitute the

native [blaumə] for 'plum' (1953: 390). Clyne (1967: 35) presents a number of similar examples from the German spoken in Australia, e.g. *Gumbaum*–gumtree, *Redbrickhaus*–red brick house, *Grüngrocer*–greengrocer, *Frontgarten*–front garden, *Lunchzeit*–lunchtime. In each of these cases one part of the compound is borrowed from English, while the other is German. Romanian also provides examples of such compound loanblends: *focus-grup*–focus-group, *crash-teste*–crash-tests, *business-planuri*–business-plans, *brandmamă*–parent-brand, *masterfranciză* – masterfranchise, *hair-stilist*–hairstylist. Most of these hybrid combinations seem to be supported by a formal similarity existing between the foreign word and the native one which is substituted.

Loanshifts are words which show complete morphemic substitution without importation, or words in which the meaning is imported without the form. They can result from extending the meaning of a word in the recipient language so as to correspond to that of a word in the source language (*semantic loans* or *semantic extensions*), or from the importation of a morpheme arrangement from this language (*loan translations* or *calques*).

The category of semantic loans can be further subdivided into *loan homonyms* and *loan synonyms*. Loan homonyms appear when a new meaning is added to a native form, without having anything in common with the old existing meaning of this word. The literature on borrowing abounds in examples of this type. For example, American Portuguese borrowed the meaning of the English *grocery* and added it to the native word *grosseria* meaning 'a rude remark', with the result that in the end this word had two different, completely unrelated meanings (Haugen, 1953: 400). Similarly, German–English bilinguals in Australia have taken the German word *magasin* meaning 'storeroom', and have extended its meaning to that of the English word *magasine* (Clyne, 1967: 61). Weinreich (1968: 49) presents the case of the American Italian word *fattoria*,

which originally meant 'a farm', but whose meaning was later extended to that of the English *factory*. Avram (1997: 18-19) shows that, on the English model, the Romanian *a aplica* as 'to put into operation or effect' has also come to mean 'to make a request or appeal', *atașament* as 'strong feeling of affection' has also received the meaning 'document you send to someone by email', *abstract* as 'general, not particular' has also come to mean 'a short piece of writing, containing the main ideas in the document'.

A loan synonym, on the other hand, leads to the creation of synonymous words in the recipient language. For example, American Portuguese substituted the native *livraria* ('bookstore') for *library*, although the Portuguese word for it is *biblioteca*, the result being synonymy as well as confusion between the two native words (Haugen, 1953: 401). A possible outcome of such a borrowing pattern might be the total displacement of the old native word. Romaine (1995: 58) notes that this type of loanshift may be motivated by partial phonetic and semantic identity between the native and the foreign word. In this case, the semantic similarity between a library as a building in which books are kept for people to read and the bookstore as a place which sells books is supported by the phonetic similarity between the two words.

A loanshift can also result from the importation of a foreign structural pattern and the arrangement of native material so as to reproduce a source language model, thus leading to the creation of new words or phrases in the recipient language. This type of borrowing is called a 'creation' by Haugen, but other writers after him have preferred the terms 'loan translation' and 'calque'. Creations are most often found at the level of compounds. For example, Romaine (1995: 57) shows that the English *skyscraper* was borrowed in different languages as a rearrangement of native morphemes: *gratteciel* in French, *rascacielos* in Spanish, *Wolkenkratzer* in German, etc. In recent years Romanian has calqued a number of

English expressions such as 'first lady' *prima doamnă*, 'no man's land' *țara nimănui*, 'number one' *numărul unu,* 'second hand' *la mâna a doua* (Avram 1997: 27), or 'brainwashing' *spălarea creierelor*, 'human rights' *drepturile omului*, 'flying saucer' *farfurie zburătoare* (Constantinescu et al., 2004: 189- 190).

Loan translations may also include idiomatic expressions. Haugen calls such borrowings syntactic substitutions and gives the example of the American Portuguese expression *responder para tras* ('to talk back'). Similarly, Clyne (1967: 56) presents the examples of *fur schlechter oder besser* ('for better or worse'), *da war* ('there was'), and *haben eine gute Zeit* ('are having a good time') in the speech of German– English bilinguals in Australia, while Grosjean (2001: 319) reports on the use of *cambiar de mente* ('to change one's mind') in the speech of Spanish–English bilinguals. Finally, our observation of Romanian speech shows that the English 'How are you?' is sometimes calqued as *Cum eşti?* and used alongside the older form *Ce mai faci?* (How are you?). It is generally agreed that such borrowings can be unacceptable or even unintelligible to monolinguals, the extent to which they violate monolingual norms depending on how similar the two languages are (Romaine, 1995: 57).

Particularly interesting from a theoretical perspective is the question of what exactly triggers the appearance of a loanshift in preference to that of a loanword. A widely accepted explanation is that this process is motivated by the phonetic and semantic similarity existing between two languages. For example, Haugen (1950: 92) believes that "Loanshifts in general occur most readily when there is both phonetic and semantic resemblance between foreign and native terms". In later writings the same author, as well as others after him (Romaine, 1995: 58), places more emphasis on the phonetic similarity between words, noting that loanshifts tend to occur even when the comparison is semantically empty:

> (…) if a native word is similar in sound to a desired foreign word, it is often given the meanings of the foreign word; if not, it is more common to borrow the foreign word. (Haugen, 1953: 380)

An example in this respect is the transfer of meaning from the English *grocery* (storeroom) to the Portuguese *groceria* (a rude remark), even if the two words have nothing in common semantically.

Other writers have granted paramount importance to the semantics of the two words between which the meaning transfer takes place. For example, Hristea is of the following opinion:

> Pentru a fi posibilă copierea unui sens nou după un model străin, este absolut necesar ca cele două cuvinte care se suprapun în conştiinţa vorbitorului bilingv să coincidă parţial din punct de vedere semantic. Pe bună dreptate se admite ca termenul influenţat şi cel după care se calchiază trebuie să aibă măcar un sens comun. Prin intermediul acestuia se efectuează transferul sensului (sau sensurilor), pe care modelul le are în plus faţă de cuvântul care imită. (Hristea, 1984: 111)

Similarly, although conceding that loanshifts are often similar to their models, Grosjean (2001: 318) shows that the words in the two languages do not have to resemble each other phonetically for a loanshift to take place. For example, the Portuguese–English bilinguals use the Portuguese *frio*, 'cold spell', to mean 'infection' by analogy with the English *cold* but in the absence of any formal connection between the two words.

Finally, the choice of a loanshift over a loanword can be influenced by socio-linguistic factors such as language attitudes and ideology (Romaine, 1995: 59). Thus, borrowed meanings and calques may be preferred by some communities as a result of a policy of language purity, because they preserve the structural integrity of the recipient language. Quoting Casagrandes's study of Spanish and English influence on the Amerindian language Comanche, Appel and Muysken (1987: 167-168) show that the author distinguishes

between primary accommodation, or the use of resources within the recipient language (loanshifts and native creations) and secondary accommodation, or the use of resources from other languages (loanwords). The evolution from the former to the latter type of language contact phenomena is seen as a function of increasing intensity of contact and pressure between the donor and the recipient language, having as a result the removing of purist attitudes.

Another problem posed by the existence of different categories of borrowings is their separation, both on theoretical and on empirical grounds. Some writers have tried to separate loanwords from loanshifts on semantic criteria, by including into the former category those cases of borrowings which create homonymy in the recipient language, while grouping with the latter only borrowed meanings that lead to polysemy. However, since the line between polysemy and homonymy cannot be easily drawn, the distinction between loanwords and loanshifts remains of a 'more-or-less' nature, rather than being a matter of 'all-or-nothing'. For example, Hristea (1984) believes that *a realiza* as *a-şi da seama, a reuşi să înțeleagă* can be considered a semantic calque if we view this new sense as a simple addition to an existing set of meanings, or a lexical borrowing of the English 'to realise' if this loan creates homonymy in Romanian.

Partly following Hristea, in this study we are going to analyse as lexical borrowings those words having meanings which are new to Romanian, but also showing *formal identity* with the corresponding English words. Thus, while *a aplica, a realiza, rezoluție, a agrea* will be considered to be borrowed meanings or loanshifts, *palm (*PDA)*, panel* (group of experts)*, content* (something contained), *junior*, *senior* (professional ranks), and other similar cases will be regarded as borrowed form-meaning units.

Although other writers have given slightly different meanings to Haugen's terms, especially with regard to loanshifts and semantic

loans (Romaine, 1995; Myers-Scotton, 2006), the classification presented above can be regarded as a terminological and theoretical benchmark in the language contact literature, having inspired a large number of other classificatory frameworks. Winford (2003: 43), for example, proposes an alternative taxonomy based on two broad categories: *lexical borrowings*, which are the imitation of some aspect, formal or not, of a foreign word, and *creations*, consisting of entirely native material without a formal counterpart in the donor language. In other words, the first category comprises loanwords ("pure loanwords" and "loanblends") and loanshifts ("semantic loans", "loan translations") modeled on the donor language, while the second one includes new coinages based on foreign models.

Clyne (2003: 75-80) classifies borrowed elements based on a unitary framework of transference, in which various aspects of the borrowed word are highlighted: *lexical transference* or the transference of form and content (the loanwords of other frameworks), *morphemic transference* or the transference of bound morphemes (Haugen's various forms of loanblends), *semantic transference* (loanshifts or semantic extensions), *semantico-syntactic transference* or the transference of whole syntagmatic units (loan translations or calques). In addition to these, his comprehensive classification also includes: *phonetic transference, graphemic transference, prosodic transference, pragmatic transference, tonemic transference, syntactic transference.*

Other writers reserve the term 'borrowing' only for those words showing clear formal links with the source language, and use other labels to cover semantic transfers. Constantinescu et al. (2004), for example, include in the category of 'borrowings' only loanwords, be they adapted, in the process of adaptation or totally unadapted, and use 'replacement' as an umbrella term covering all types of calques, semantic loans, loan translations, and creations. Myers-Scotton (2006: 210-219), too, categorizes borrowings according to their connection

to the source language model into lexical or direct borrowings (the loanwords of other frameworks) and "less direct borrowings". This category is taken to include calques, loan translations, loanshifts, and loanblends or hybrids.

In the present study, loanwords will constitute the sole focus of attention. In this category we include pure loanwords, or those words showing importation without morphemic substitution in Haugen's acceptation, and loanblends (derivational blends and blended compounds–also called hybrid compounds here), showing importation with partial morphemic substitution. Some English words having homonymous forms in Romanian and therefore described as semantic loans by other writers will also be included in the analysis. However, the term b*orrowing* will be preferred to that of *loanword*, since the latter is often used to refer to established or totally adapted foreign words, a category which is outside the scope of the present study.

1.3.2 Classification according to meaning

Another criterion used in the classification of borrowings is a semantic one, the emphasis being on the type of lexical items that get borrowed and their place in the vocabulary of the recipient language. These aspects are related to the various factors that promote borrowing rather than the structures of the two languages in contact. Consequently, a content-based classification of borrowings can render valuable insights into the extra-linguistic background against which language contact takes place, by revealing the social, political, economic, and cultural determinants of the borrowing process. From this perspective, two main categories of loanwords are recognized in the literature: cultural borrowings, or necessary loans (Bloomfield, 1933; Haugen, 1953), also called loans of necessity (Baetens-Beardsmore, 1982) and core or intimate

borrowings, also known as unnecessary loans (Haugen 1953) or luxury loans.

The existence of these two classes of borrowings was described as early as Bloomfield (1933), who referred to cultural loans as being the linguistic correlates of cultural diffusion and reflecting the adoption of foreign concepts and notions, or the "spread of things and habits" (1933: 445). As Bloomfield says, "Cultural loans show us what one nation has taught another" (1933: 458). For example, he shows that English has borrowed from French fashion-related words, from German some food vocabulary, and from Italian musical terms. Cultural loans of this sort may become widespread due to the large diffusion of the articles they denote, examples in this respect including words like *sugar, pepper, coffee, tea, tobacco,* which are used all over the world. Finally, the degree of cultural borrowing from one language into another reflects the relative technical and economic advancement of the language communities coming into contact: more advanced language communities will export more culture-tied items than less advanced ones, and in general, a culture will borrow new concepts and objects together with their designations, according to the principle "the word follows the thing".

Intimate borrowing, on the other hand, is the borrowing of words from the core vocabulary, and can be found in situations of conquest or peaceful migration, as for example the contact of immigrants' languages with English in the United States. It occurs when two languages are spoken "in what is topographically and politically a single community" (Bloomfield, 1933: 461), and it requires considerable intensity of contact between the source and the recipient language speech communities.

An important distinction between the two types of borrowings is the direction in which transfers are made: while cultural borrowing is usually mutual, being "one-sided only to the extent

that one nation has more to give than the other" (1933: 461), intimate borrowing is one-sided. This one-sidedness requires the presence of an upper or dominant language, spoken by the conquering people or the people of higher social status, and a lower one, spoken by the conquered people or the more "humble" group. In this case, borrowing goes predominantly from the upper language to the lower one, and it affects the core vocabulary as well.

Weinreich (1968: 56, 59) also makes the distinction between cultural and intimate loanwords, but views them from a different perspective, discussing the psycholinguistic determinants which promote each of these types of borrowings. Thus, cultural loans appear as a result of an attempted cognitive simplification on the speaker's part, who tries to find and adopt the simplest linguistic strategy in naming new things. Since adopting an existing word or expression is easier than coining new ones, borrowing presents itself as an economical and convenient solution to the need to designate new things. The observation that borrowing may appear as a result of cognitive pressures to draw on the resources of a pragmatically dominant language for certain words has been confirmed by researchers studying language contact from a pragmatic and psycholinguistic perspective (Matras, 1998).

Intimate borrowings, on the other hand, are correlated with the relative prestige one language enjoys over another. Thus, loans in this category have a symbolic rather than a referential value, being indexical of higher social status, fashion, or prestige. This explains their seemingly redundant character in the recipient language, as they do not fill any lexical gaps but double already existing words:

> If one language is endowed with prestige, the bilingual is likely to use what are identifiable loanwords from it as a means of displaying the social status which its knowledge symbolizes. This can observed both in learned borrowings, e.g. Latin phrases in English, and in the intimate "unnecessary" borrowing of everyday designations for things

which have excellent names in the language which is being spoken. (Weinreich, 1968: 59-60)

Examples in Weinreich's account include the borrowing in Amer. Yiddish of *vinde* for *fenster* 'window', *flor* for *podloge* 'floor', *tocn* for *rirn* 'to touch', and of other basic words.

Other language contact writers have maintained and developed this classification of borrowings. Arguing from a cognitive and language production perspective, Myers-Scotton (1993: 168-176) maintains that cultural and core borrowed forms have a different status as regards their competition with native lexemes, and can be clearly separated both in terms of origin and in terms of their behaviour in the recipient language. First, cultural borrowings seem to outnumber core ones. This assumption is supported by empirical evidence: in a study of English borrowings in Shona, Bernsten (1990) found that out of 391 borrowed forms 68% (267) were clearly cultural borrowings, some were borderline cases, while the remainder were core borrowings. Second, cultural borrowings have a near-categorical nature: given their instrumental role in filling lexical gaps, they enter the language abruptly rather than gradually, being "'instant' B [borrowed] forms". Core borrowings, on the other hand, enter a language gradually, first as code-switched forms and then increasing in frequency. Third, cultural borrowings are almost always content words. Examples include English lexical items like *automobile*, *car,* and, more recently, computer-related terms, e.g. *computer, email, website, crash, hard drive*, as well as many Latin or Greek technical terms in the fields of science, medicine, and law. Core borrowings, on the other hand, can include function words and discourse markers in addition to content words.

Studying Ateso–Swahili contact, Scotton and Okeju (1973) describe the borrowing of function words such as *but*, *because,* and *how much*, of fixed phrases like *I don't know*, of words for times and calendar dates, and of fixed greetings. A similar case is represented

by the borrowing of English words into the Japanese community of Hawaii (Higa, 1979 cited in Grosjean, 2001: 313): pronouns (*me, you*), expressions of time (*last year, one month*), kinship terms (*papa, mama, brother, sister*), and expressions of quantity (*thirty, some, too much*). These borrowings, the author shows, have an indexical function, serving as indicators of group identity and of belonging to the American society rather than satisfying a linguistic need. Other borrowed core words reported in the literature include greetings, conjunctions, common nouns, and adjectives (Mougeon and Beniak, 1991), as well as discourse markers and interjections (Salmons, 1990; Matras, 1998). The observation that the grammatical class of a borrowed word is correlated with the area of the vocabulary this word enters was also made by Graur (1968: 281), who, based on an analysis of various borrowings into Romanian, found that the representation of nouns in the total decreased as transfers progressed from the non-basic to the basic vocabulary.

Another difference Myers-Scotton (1993, 2006) makes between the two subclasses of borrowings resides in the socio-economic circumstances surrounding their appearance, as well as in their distribution across various classes of speakers within the same speech community. While cultural borrowings tend to be restricted to certain socio-cultural groups (the educated and those who have travelled widely), core borrowings are not restricted in this way, becoming more widely diffused in the speech community if there is sufficient contact with the speakers of the donor language.

Moreover, some writers have found a correlation between borrowing rate and speaker socio-economic status. For example, Scotton and Okeju (1973) show that core borrowing is more frequent in the speech of non-standard speakers of Ateso, Mougeon and Beniak (1991) find that Ontario French has borrowed the English conjunction *so*, but mainly in the speech of the working class, and Poplack, Sankoff and Miller (1988) show that Ottawa-Hull French

speakers in the higher social classes use significantly fewer English loanwords than others, for example unskilled workers and the unemployed. These examples seem to confirm Weinreich's belief regarding prestige as the primary motivation for core borrowing: some speakers adopt core loans in order to signal their familiarity with the prestigious culture from which they borrow, and in this way to display social status.

Another important element that can be used to explain core borrowing is intensity of contact both at individual and at societal level. For example, Heath (1981) presents a case of intensive lexical diffusion in the languages of Arnhem Land, Australia, having as a result the sharing of about half of the total vocabulary, with 'core vocabulary' and highly inflected stems being among the borrowed elements. Demographic and cultural features rather than structural ones are used to explain this situation, i.e. small size of ethnolinguistic group, absence of strong tribal organization, and extensive cross-linguistic marriage. This situation leads Heath to conclude:

> It seems that when pressures for lexical diffusion build up past a certain point, the distinction between core (non-diffusable) and peripheral (diffusible) lexicon tends to break down, except where the way is blocked by insurmountable problems of morphological adaptation. (Heath, 1981: 364)

Such patterns of linguistic diffusion can occur in cases of distant contact as well, or when the two speech communities do not share the same geographical area. An example in this respect is provided by Haarmann (1989: 159-161), who discusses the penetration into Japanese of English lexical items belonging to the basic vocabulary (eating, drinking, parts of the body, numerical concepts, colours, etc). This pattern of borrowing is interpreted as reflecting massive language contact and an effort towards acculturation, understood as the adoption of a foreign cultural model.

Although societal bilingualism is an important determinant of borrowing in general, a more specific dimension along which core borrowing takes place is that of intensive language contact at individual level. The notion of language contact is probably best described in Weinreich's words as follows:

> (…) two or more languages will be said to be *in contact* if they are used alternatively by the same person. The language-using individuals are the locus of the contact. (Weinreich, 1968: 1)

The literature provides evidence showing that those speakers who use both languages in the private domain are the locus of the most intensive contact, and therefore do the most core borrowing (Mougeon and Beniak, 1991).

In the Romanian literature, English loans are divided into necessary borrowings, i.e. words or phrases without a Romanian equivalent, which are more precise, brief or international than a native equivalent, and luxury borrowings (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2001, 2006). This classification of Anglicisms broadly coincides with the cultural/core classification, although it introduces some additional sub-classes not recognized by the latter. In detail, necessary loans can be subdivided into denotative loanwords (*broker, dealer, duty-free, futures, rating, tour-operator, voucher*, etc) and connotative or stylistic ones (*brain-drain, gossip column, soap opera, boss, speech, party*, etc) (Stoichițoiu-Ichim, 2001). The words in this last category are seen as being more expressive than their native equivalents, suggesting a certain geographical, cultural, or social environment (*pub, hot dog, junk food, killer, politically correct),* or acting as euphemisms (*second hand, gay, topless*). Luxury borrowings include words thought to be unnecessary and even harmful for the recipient language, examples including *advertising, marketing manager, nurse, showroom, sales person, store, shop, training, item, chairman, staff, evergreen, goalkeeper, fashion, toast, steak,* etc.

Although widely used in the literature, the necessary/luxury dichotomy is not unanimously accepted. Some writers have expressed reserves with regard to this distinction (Onysko, 2007: 37), arguing that it is empirically weak as it touches "upon the grey area of semantic equivalence" and "it is not capable of making any predictions about the borrowability of a term." While it is true that the notions of linguistic need and prestige are rather vague and difficult to make more precise, there are some borrowed words which clearly designate cultural novelties, as there are others for which the recipient language has almost perfect synonyms. This is why we believe that this classification should be preserved, with the two categories being seen along a continuum rather than as two separate, watertight classes.

1.3.3 Classification according to integration into the recipient language

Other dimensions along which borrowings can be categorised are those of integration into the recipient language and diffusion across the speech community. According to these criteria, loanwords have been divided into integrated and unintegrated, although different writers have used different terms to refer to this distinction. For example, Haugen (1953) uses the terms 'assimilated' and 'unassimilated', Reyes (1974) employs the terms 'incorporated' and 'spontaneous', Poplack and her associates refer to 'established' and 'nonce' loans, while Grosjean (2001) speaks about 'language borrowing' and 'speech borrowing'. Mackey (1970) uses the terms *interference* for unassimilated borrowings and *integration* for assimilated loans, and acknowledges the built-in difficulty of separating the two classes in an unequivocal way:

> The question of whether or not a given element belongs to both codes or only to one does not take a yes/no answer. It is also a matter of degree. (Mackey, 1970: 201 cited in Grosjean, 2001: 334)

In general, it is agreed that unassimilated loans or speech borrowings are foreign words used sporadically by bilinguals and only at individual level. These words have an uncertain phonological and morphological status and are often used in parallel with the equivalent native word, if such a word exists. In other words, speech borrowings do not satisfy the criteria of frequency of use and linguistic integration. For this reason, they display a high "mortality rate", some of them never going beyond the level of speech into the system of the language. Language borrowing, on the other hand, refers to the complex process through which words initially used only by bilinguals make their way into the speech of monolinguals and are finally accepted into the language (Grosjean, 2001).

The separation of assimilated and unassimilated borrowings, as well as the relation existing between these two classes, is problematic, being reminiscent of the borrowing/code-switching dichotomy discussed earlier in this chapter. Perhaps this general relationship is best illustrated by Weinreich's plastic analogy between words in a language and sand on a river bed:

> In speech, interference is like sand carried by a stream; in language, it is the sedimented sand deposited on the bottom of the lake. (Weinreich, 1968: 11)

The Romanian language contact literature uses a classification of borrowed words according to their linguistic and social integration, which generally comprises the following categories: loanwords as such (fully adapted to Romanian), Anglicisms/Americanisms (words in the process of integration), and 'barbarisme' (unadapted words also called 'cuvinte aloglote'– 'foreign words' or 'străinisme'– 'foreignisms') (Stoichițoiu-Ichim, 2001; Constantinescu et al., 2004). However, the clearcut separation of these categories is not simple, posing the same problems which complicate the borrowing/code-switching dichotomy or the distinction between various types of borrowings.

The classifications of borrowings presented in this chapter prove the very complex character of the borrowing process as such. Language contact is not as neat as it might seem, or as these individual classifications would like to suggest. It can affect various compartments of a language in a way that is very difficult to predict: what combinatory pattern will occur in a given situation is the result of a very complex interplay of linguistic, socio-cultural and psychological factors.

1.4 Anglicisms as a language contact phenomenon

The discussion so far has focused on describing some processes of language contact such as borrowing and code-switching, with a view to providing a coherent picture of the field and revealing some general principles and rules that can be expected to underlie any specific contact situation. However, when Romanian–English contact phenomena are discussed, a very often used term is that of Anglicism, generally employed as an umbrella word to cover all cases of borrowing from English into Romanian. This term has gained considerable currency in describing the importation of English words into various European languages (Görlach 2005), thus occupying a special place within the large spectrum of language contact terms. In this context, it is important to see how it can be related to other established concepts (e.g. borrowing and code-switching), and to what extent its definition overlaps with or diverges from those given to these terms.

The exact definition of what an Anglicism is will impact directly on the scope and outcome of any study of Romanian–English contact, as a broader or narrower acceptation of the term is bound to considerably tilt the quantitative and qualitative analysis one way or another. However, drawing the exact boundaries within which the term will be used is complicated by an evident lack of

agreement regarding its definition. A brief review of the most important contributions to the field will reveal the fuzziness surrounding this concept, with the ensuing empirical inconsistencies and contradictions between various studies on the topic.

In one of the most comprehensive and insightful contributions on the topic to date, Mioara Avram defines an Anglicism as

> (…) o unitate lingvistică (nu numai cuvânt, ci şi formant, expresie frazeologică, sens sau construcţie gramaticală) şi chiar tip de pronunţare sau/şi de scriere (inclusiv de punctuaţie) de origine engleză, indifferent de varietatea teritorială a englezei, nu doar din cea britanică. (Avram, 1997: 11)

Avram's definition is very broad, including what other authors have called loanwords, code-switches, semantic loans, grammatical interference, and prosodic transfers, in other words any element resulting from the contact between English and Romanian. However, the criteria of assimilation and utility in the language are not considered to be relevant, Anglicisms including established as well as nonce or speech borrowings:

> (…) nu-l restrâng nicidecum la împrumuturile neadaptate şi/sau inutile (ca în DEX), dar nici nu-l extind la termeni ca *biomedicină* şi *ecosistem, etnolingvistică* şi *sociolingvistică* sau *extragalactic*, cum fac unele lucrări. (Avram, 1997: 11)

Origin, understood as direct etymology or the last etymological link, is taken to be of paramount importance in defining the term. Etymology can be established by using formal or/and semantic cues, as well as extralinguistic information. In the absence of these indicators, Avram contends that it is useful to distinguish between certain Anglicisms (of single etymology) and those of multiple etymologies. Moreover, etymology itself is a dynamic concept, as the same word may have been borrowed from different sources and with different outcomes: for example *jet* as "curent de lichid sau de gaz care ţâşneşte cu presiune" has a double etymology, English and

French, while its homograph, pronounced [dʒet] and meaning "avion cu reacție", is exclusively of English origin.

A particularly important distinction that Avram makes is that between Anglicisms adopted in Romanian, and those used in the speech of some Romanians. The latter are marked by an evident foreign graphemic character, for example by the use of italics, and are somehow akin to quotations in that they are low in frequency and have a highly indexical function in discourse. This classification according to frequency, diffusion, and consequently linguistic integration is reminiscent of the classical dichotomy between language and speech borrowings (Weinreich, 1968; Grosjean, 2001) and establishes a clear link with code-switches as defined in some studies (Poplack, 1980; Muysken, 2000).

Other writers (Dimitrescu, 1995; Constantinescu et al., 2004) operate with a similar taxonomy of Anglicisms, using the term very broadly to cover all categories of borrowed words, regardless of their degree of integration into the language. Thus, Anglicisms are described as including the whole range of borrowings "from the stage of unadapted neologisms, through that of incompletely adapted words, to that of totally adapted items", and receive the following classification (Constantinescu et al., 2004: 187):

a. totally unadapted and not felt to be part of Romanian. These include foreign material ranging from single words (*board, building, challenge, establishment, pet, pub, scholarship*) to multiword phrases such as quotation words and code-switches (*to be or not to be, time is money, take it easy, no comment, etc*).

b. words still looking foreign in form. These are more frequently used and felt as more "necessary" than those in the first category, being therefore regarded as more stable and less influenced by the pragmatic factors of communication. Examples include *show biz, exit poll, melting pot, politically correct, baby-sitter, boom, dealer,*

empowerment, full-time, item, job, know how, public relations, self made man, etc

c. fully integrated items. These "are no longer felt as Anglicisms or have lost the status of 'traveling words'" 2004: 188).
In addition to these classes of lexical borrowings, the term Anglicism also includes calques, semantic loans, and pseudo-loans.

Taking as a reference point the definition given to the term by MDN (2005) as "cuvânt, expresie proprie limbii engleze; cuvânt pătruns dintr-o altă limbă şi încă neintegrat în aceasta", Stoichițoiu-Ichim (2006: 29) defines Anglicisms as "*împrumuturi din engleza britanică şi americană aflate în curs de adaptare* la sistemul limbii române", thus excluding completely assimilated loanwords as well as completely unadapted words, which she calls "xenisme" or "străinisme" (foreignisms). While narrower in its scope, as it excludes established borrowings from the class of Anglicisms, this definition includes cases of code-switches or "borrowed phrases", and suggests that a word's form might be a useful criterion in deciding its status in the lexicon.

Other writers, however, give paramount importance to origin in deciding a word's status as an Anglicism. For example, Filipović defines Anglicisms in the following way:

> (…) every word borrowed from English denoting any thing, idea or concept that belongs to the English civilization; it need not be of English extraction but it must have been adapted in English and integrated in the English vocabulary. (Filipovic, 1990:17 cited in Ciobanu, 1996: 4)

While this definition indicates as Anglicisms all words denoting English realities, even if other languages have served as vehicles for their transmission, it also includes words of exotic origin such as *penguin, banjo, rodeo, mustang, chinook* or *toboggan* due to the fact that "they have been made known and spread by English". Several Romanian researchers have adopted this definition in their attempt

to establish the extent of the English element in the Romanian language. For example, based on this acceptation of the term Ciobanu (1996) and Manolescu (1999) compiled lists of Anglicisms in Romanian, with the result that these lists include English words whose transmission into Romanian was mediated by a third language (usually French, but also German, Italian, or Russian).

Other Romanian linguists (Hristea, 1984; Dimitrescu, 1995; Avram, 1997) are of the opinion that a word's form and meaning, not the language that served as the donor in the first place, are the two most important guidelines in establishing its etymology. Hristea, for example, believes that the French mediation of some English words ("din care provin numai în ultimă analiză") is proven by their meaning, which coincides with that of the French etymons. Examples in this respect include *dancing, picup, smooching* and *spicher*, the English correspondent of the latter, for example, being *announcer*. Similarly, the same author shows, some English words were borrowed into French, where they underwent various formal changes, and then adopted into Romanian. These linguistic marks point to a French rather than an English origin. For example, both *biftec* and *rosbif* are more similar to the French *bifteck* and *rosbif* than to the English *beefsteak* and *roast beef*.

Dimitrescu (1995: 271) shows that *drugstore* does not have the same meaning in English, where it refers to "a general store for selling food, pharmaceuticals", and French, where it designates a modern space comprising a bar, a café, a show room, etc. Another similar example is *transistor*, which designates a "dispozitiv cu semiconductori" in American English, and "aparat de radio portativ", as well as "dispozitiv cu semiconductori", in French. In Romanian, the two etymons are differentiated in speech by stress placement: *tranzistor* (with the stress on the first syllable) for the technical term borrowed from English, and *tranzistor* (with the stress on the last syllable), used in common speech to refer to a radio set.

The meaning of a word thus proves to offer valuable information regarding its etymology. However, it is not always possible to use this criterion, as inter-language cognates are not always distinguished on the semantic level.

In some cases, form may testify to the last etymological link through which a loanword entered Romanian, or it may clarify ambiguous cases of multiple etymology. Thus, the word *yoghin* is more easily tracked back to the English *yogin* than to the French *yogi*, while *extraterestru* is more likely to come from the French *extraterrestre* than from the English *extraterrestrial* (Dimitrescu, 1995: 270). The importance of formal cues in clarifying origin prompts Dimitrescu (1995: 271) to claim that all words ending in *–ing* are of English origin, even if some of them appear in French as well: *antidoping, antidumping, camping, carting, doping, happening, jogging, kidnapping, iachting, marketing, parking, stripping, standing, traveling.*

It has been noted that this lack of terminological agreement regarding the definition of Anglicisms is reflected in the discrepancies existing between various quantitative studies on the topic. For example, in a 1982 article based on the study of bilingual dictionaries of that period, Bantaş reported on the existence of nearly four thousand English words (lexical borrowings of various length and complexity, but not semantic loans). However, a count by Ciobanu (1996) based on the main dictionaries published in the last four decades of the 20th century, newspapers, magazines, almanacs, articles as well as oral sources reveals a corpus of only 1,400 Anglicisms (simple words, but also set phrases and phraseological units). A list similar to that of Ciobanu's but based on a broader time span in Romanian–English contact was subsequently drawn up by Manolescu (1999). After examining lexicographic works from the first modern dictionary published in 1898 and up to the mid-1990s, together with the vocabulary of some newspapers from the last decade of the 20th century, the author compiles an inventory of 3,820

Anglicisms (acronyms, pseudo-Anglicisms and semantic loans together with single word borrowings)–all of them representing ‘the English element in contemporary Romanian’.

1.5 Anglicisms in the present study

The situation presented so far reveals the necessity of defining the term ‘Anglicism’ as used in the present study. Two main aspects will need clarifying before we proceed to the empirical study of Anglicisms. First, we have to delimitate the coverage of this concept as regards the number and types of language contact phenomena it can be taken to include. Secondly, it will be necessary to establish the main formal criteria that can be used to separate these words from the bulk of Romanian vocabulary, and thus find a principled way of identifying Anglicisms in the corpus of *Capital* magazine.

The perspective adopted in this study is a synchronic one. In this context, we consider the formal criterion to be of paramount importance in separating Anglicisms from Romanian words. This methodological choice is in line with the definition given to the term by several researchers (Stoichițoiu-Ichim, 2006; Görlach, 2005; Onysko, 2007), who regard as an Anglicism any word “if it is recognizably English in form (spelling, pronunciation, morphology)” (Görlach, 2005: xviii), or “any instance of an English lexical, structural, and phonological element (…) that can be formally related to English” (Onysko, 2007: 90). These definitions capture the essence of the definition of borrowing as present in several influential works on the topic. Thus, Haugen (1950), Poplack (1988), Thomason and Kaufman (1988), and Myers-Scotton (1993) among others define linguistic borrowing in a way that suggests the idea of direct contact between the source and the recipient language, without the mediation of other languages: borrowing is the deliberate reproduction or incorporation in one language of elements

previously found in another one, as a result of some specific socio-economic conditions surrounding the contact situation.

Based on these considerations, a first stage in the analysis of Anglicisms in *Capital* 1998-2005 was their identification[1]. In the absence of pronunciation cues, the criterion used to determine a word's Anglicism status was its spelling. Consequently, formally obtrusive words showing English writing were included in the initial count after their presence was checked in the online version of the Merriam Webster Dictionary. In detail, the following table, adapted from Constantinescu et al. (2004: 177-179), presents the graphemic marks characterizing recent English borrowings in Romanian:

English spelling	**Examples**	**What Romanian would use**
sh	*shipping, bullish, bearish, short, publisher, showbiz, shopping, fashion*	ș
k, ck	*background, cocktail, desktop, folk, hacker, link,*	c
w	*awareness, browser, web, workshop,*	u, v
y	*city-break, copywriter, economy, equity, hypermarket, lobby, player*	i
ch	*yacht*	h
any letter or group of letters that lack phonetic value	*bodyguard, money, outsourcing, walkie-talkie, tour-operator, dealer, glamour*	
double consonants	*banner, blogger, business, coffee-shop, follow-up, grill, horror, hobby,*	simple consonants

[1] Our method for Anglicism identification partly follows the method used by Onysko (2007: 89-93) in his study of Anglicisms in German.

double vowels	*freelancer, greenfield, indoor, notebook, zoom, peer*	simple vowels
ke, cke	*market, marketer, marketing, ketchup, marker*	che
ki, key, ky	*banking, jockey*	chi
(t)ch(i), (t)che	*brunch, chart, chips, chat, matchmaker, patch,*	ce, ci
j, g. dg	*jogging, jeans, jeep, job, project, gentleman, gadget, hedging*	ge, gi
ds, ts	*darts*	ț

Table 1.2 Spelling indicators of unadapted Anglicisms (adapted from Constantinescu et al., 2004: 177-179)

The words which contain these letters or groups of letters constitute the most salient class of English borrowings in the corpus. Sometimes, words formally marked in this way double already assimilated forms in Romanian, *e.g. meeting vs. miting, cocktail vs. cocteil, leader vs. lider, inch vs. inci, chip vs. cip, ski vs. schi, bungalow vs bungalou*. In these cases, only the unassimilated forms were included in the analysis, the novel character of these words being indicated sometimes by the relative numerical inferiority they show when compared to their more established counterparts.

The introduction of a foreign word in a language at different times and more than once, in spite of its existence in an already assimilated form, was described by Haugen (1953) as loanword "re-borrowing" or "denativization". Such a situation arises as a result of different, co-existing stages of bilingualism within a speech community whose members are becoming increasingly exposed to a foreign language. We believe that the present-day Romanian society constitutes a fertile ground for loanword re-borrowing, in that its

members, being more and more exposed to English as the lingua franca of the modern world, are adopting words which were borrowed in the past and exist as established borrowings.

Similar studies regarding the impact of English on other European languages have shown that when such doublets are present, the more recent and modern word tends to replace the older, assimilated form. For example, Onysko (2007: 64- 67) presents evidence which suggests that the integrated forms *klub* and *handikap* are being displaced in German by the more recent borrowings *club* and *handicap,* presumably as a result of some special psycho-social factors surrounding German–English contact. The relationship between the words in such pairs will not be studied any further in this book. However, based on evidence from other languages and on the inflow of English words in contemporary Romanian, we believe that these recent entries will continue to gain ground in front of their older counterparts.

Words showing complete graphemic assimilation and no longer felt to be foreign were excluded from the analysis that followed. Thus, *casetă (<cassette), cec (cheque), chec (<cake), henț (<hands), hol (<hall), iard (<yard), recesiune (<recession), seif (<safe), tichet (<ticket), şut (shoot),* and many other borrowings that are now widely accepted and completely integrated were not considered to be Anglicisms in the present study. In detail, the following list contains assimilated loanwords that were included by other researchers in their statistics (Ciobanu, 1996; Manolescu, 1999) but excluded from our quantitative and qualitative analysis: *administrație, anglican, antiperspirant, bancnotă, biftec, bob, box, boiler, brec, budincă, buldog, buldozer, cameră, canabis, canoe, cargo, casetă, cec, cent, charismă, chec, chicinetă, cip, clinic, cocher, colocvial, cod, cocteil, competitiv, corner, crichet, cros, derbi, dischetă, discotecă, doc, docher, duplex, ecosistem, electron, fan, fault, finiş, folclor, fotbal, gem, gol, golf, grepfrut, handicap, henț, hipi, hol, iard, interviu, jeanşi, laburist, lider, lift, nailon, pasa, picnic, picup, pocher, pop,*

punci, radar, recesiune, reporter, rugby, sandviş, scheci, scor, seif, sesiune, slip, smoching, sport, star, start, stoc, stop, stress, şampon, şerif, şiling, şort, şut, tenis, test, tichet, tobogan, tramvai, trenci, troleibuz, trust, video, volei, xerox, trening, laburist, televiziune, tehnologie.

A special category was constituted by those words not formally marked by the spelling idiosyncrasies listed in Table 1.2, and therefore lacking any graphemic indicators of foreignness (e.g *barter, bonus, card, cargo, clip, clona, design, fax, grant, item, led, palm, panel, recipient, respondent, script, spot, status, top, trust)*. Because of their relatively unobtrusive character, the integration of these words remains somehow hidden and can only be measured by indicators such as age of existence in the recipient language, frequency of use, and acceptance among Romanian language speakers. As a result of this, a number of lexical items were looked up in DEX 1975 and excluded from the study if listed in this dictionary. Examples of such words include *stop, set, concern, cartel, carting, holding, lift, start, star, test, bar, barman, club, laser, slogan.*

A different category was represented by borrowed words which have a homonym in Romanian, usually a word coming from a language other than English and carrying a completely different meaning. With such words, the semantic criterion was employed in order to determine their status in Romanian. For example, *split* is recorded in MDN 2005 as being of German extraction (< Split) "piatra dură, spartă mărunt, în îmbrăcăminți rutiere", alongside *split* and *splitare* (<fr. splitter, splittage). The adjective *split* is not recorded, and since both its meaning and its form in the corpus of *Capital* 1998-2005 coincide with that of the English adjective "divided, fractured", the word was taken to be an Anglicism in this study.

Other similar examples are offered by words such as *panel, spot, cool, flash, content, marker, pick-up,* and *tuner*. Thus, the English *panel* as "group of experts" is a more recent adoption than *panel* (Germ.) as

"piece of wood"; the French-origin *spot,* meaning "beam of light", is recorded in DEX 1975, while the English-origin *spot* as "TV or radio commercial" has been adopted more recently; *cool* (Engl.) is listed in dictionaries only with its meaning from jazz, while in our corpus it is used exclusively to mean "excellent, first-rate or marked by calm self-control"; *flash* (Engl.) is attested only as designating a device in photography or an important piece of information, but not with its meaning as "electronic memory"; *content* is recorded in DEX 1998 as an adjective meaning "satisfied" (Lat. Contentus), but not as the English noun *content* (something contained).

Another special situation is constituted by those English words that have entered Romanian almost exclusively within longer stretches of borrowed material (compounds, code-switches), thus doubling older, mostly integrated words. The word *dividend*, for example, is an established loanword of French origin, but an Anglicism in expressions such as *dividend cash*; the Romanian adjective *executiv* is doubled by the English *executive* in *executive director*, *executive manager*, and other phrasal Anglicisms; *grup* is paralleled by its English equivalent in *group account manager, group brand manager*; *investitii* is paralleled by *investment* in *investment banking, investment broker*; *electronic* (< fr. electronique) is doubled by its English equivalent in *electronic banking*, etc. Even if these words are very tightly connected to their phrasal environment and therefore very unlikely to be used independently (especially since they bring no semantic novelty to Romanian), their presence in the language cannot be ignored, mainly due to the high frequency of the expressions containing them.

Several English words are used in our corpus with more than one meaning. For example, *spot* has been borrowed as a noun meaning "TV or radio commercial" but also as a specialized adjective meaning "available for immediate delivery after sale". Similarly, *driver* can refer to "a piece of computer software

controlling input and output operations" (pl. *drivere*), but also to "someone who drives" (pl. *driveri*), and *soft* is most often used as a noun resulting from the backclipping of *software*, but it also appears as an adjective describing communication and inter-personal competences– "competențe *soft*".

The examples above do not exhaust the number of bilingual homonyms borrowing has created in Romanian, more specifically in the *Capital* corpus. However, they seem to confirm Weinreich's observation that, far from always resolving homonymy in the recipient language, borrowing can even create it sometimes (1968: 57- 60). This in turn challenges the idea that language change always proceeds in the direction of simplification, as homonymy complicates the system of a language rather than simplifying it.

A separate category of words that are sometimes included in the class of Anglicisms is that of semantic loans or calques on English models. As these are not formally identical to their English counterparts, they are not covered by the definition given to the term in this book. As a consequence, words like *ataşa, ataşament* (<attach, attachment), *a realiza* (<realize), *autosuficient* (<self-sufficient), *clienți corporații* (<corporate customers), *lung-curier* (<long courier), *supermagazin* (<supermarket), *videoconferință* (<videoconference), and many others did not constitute the subject of the quantitative and qualitative analysis in this study.

The borderline between lexical and semantic loans is not always easily drawn. While the examples above have been excluded due to the clear differences existing between the native and the foreign forms, for words such as *split, panel, content,* or *palm* the situation is different. Although these word forms already existed in Romanian before the English meanings entered usage, the *formal identity* between these borrowings and their English models, as well as the peripheral place the native homonyms occupy in Romanian,

prompts us to consider them form–meaning importations and treat them as lexical borrowings.

Similarly, *senior* and *junior* were considered to be recent borrowings from English when referring to professional ranks in companies, i.e. one that is of a higher/lower position, rank, or grade than another, in spite of their attested presence in Romanian. As such they appear in the phrases *contabil senior, senior editori, analist senior, manager senior*, but also in the semi-calques *junior programator, senior analist, senior editori.* Finally, *junior* and *senior* are also part of phrasal Anglicisms such as *junior accountant, senior analyst, senior programmer,* a situation which reinforces the idea of their borrowing as form–meaning units outside these phrases as well.

To conclude our discussion on Anglicisms, the main criterion for selection used in this book was the *formal equivalence* between the borrowed words as used in Romanian and their English models. Some words included in other studies (*televiziune, tehnologie, şut, şampon, şerif, tichet, etc*) were excluded from the present one based on the joint criteria of their linguistic and social assimilation in Romanian, while words such as *start, stop, lift, test,* or *bar* were excluded based on their social integration alone, translated as age of existence in the language. On the other hand, internationalisms of Latin or Greek origin (*status, medium, item, campus, sponsor*), as well as formally unobtrusive words that have entered Romanian recently, e.g. *led, bonus, hard, hit, hub, input, soft, mall, master, grant, retail, script, spam, target, card*, were considered to be Anglicisms in this study.

Following Avram (1997), Ciobanu (1996), and Constantinescu et al. (2004), we regard as Anglicisms single words and compounds (borrowings) as well as multi-word elements (code-switches in this study). The terms 'simple Anglicism' and 'phrasal Anglicism' will also be employed to refer to these two categories, especially when a taxonomic approach is used. On the other hand, when the morphosyntactic integration of these elements is discussed, the terms

borrowing and code-switch will be preferred as being better suited for the description of the ongoing contact between English and Romanian.

In the absence of any rigorous methodological guidelines to separate Anglicisms from native vocabulary, any attempt to do this will remain to a certain extent subject to personal interpretations and therefore open to debate. The main purpose of the present study is not to make an exhaustive inventory of English-origin words in Romanian, but rather to conduct a quantitative and qualitative analysis of recent Anglicisms, with a view to describing the ongoing contact between the two languages in question.

Moreover, since inclusion or exclusion of some words will tilt frequency counts one way or the other, and since some diachronic considerations will be present in this study, a very important concern has been that of maintaining a unitary methodology of Anglicism identification throughout the studied corpus. Such consistency will guarantee the accuracy of the conclusions regarding the outcomes of Romanian–English contact (e.g. the numerical development of Anglicisms, their distribution across frequency ranges and structural patterns). These considerations underlie the process of data elicitation in Chapter 3, as well as its quantitative and qualitative analysis in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

CHAPTER II: FACTORS PROMOTING AND CONSTRAINING BORROWING

2.1 Factors promoting borrowing

The attempted identification and analysis of those factors that trigger, facilitate, or merely explain lexical borrowing is part of a larger attempt to see this process not as something haphazard and random, but as highly structured and coherent, with far-reaching implications for the study of language in general. The following quotation from Appel and Muysken reflects this view of lexical borrowing:

> Even though words can be borrowed quite freely in many contact situations, it is clear they don't travel like specks of cosmic dust, by themselves, pushed by unknown forces. Rather, we can generally determine why particular groups of words are borrowed, in other words, what the social and cultural determinants of borrowing are. (Appel and Muysken, 1987: 165)

These social and cultural determinants of borrowing have engaged the attention of writers in the field from the early stages of language contact study, with the result that two main factors have been identified: need and prestige. As shown in the discussion on cultural borrowings, it is generally agreed that in most cases when a language borrows words from another one it does so in order to fill some lexical gaps existing in its structure, or as a result of some process of influence, be it political, technological, economic, or cultural exerted by one culture over another. This very basic motivation for borrowing was noticed as early as Weinreich (1968), who preferred to call such lexical gaps "structural weak points in recipient vocabulary" and saw "the need to designate new things, persons, places and concepts" (1968: 56) as a universal cause for lexical innovation:

> Lexical borrowings of this type can be described as a result of the fact that using ready-made designations is more economical than describing things afresh. Few users of language are poets. (Weinreich, 1968: 57)

Moreover, Weinreich maintains, lexical borrowings of this type can be a useful tool in determining the direction and extent of cultural diffusion between different speech communities, as the loanwords existing in a group's language indicate what this group has learned from another. For example, he shows, Polish and Ukrainian have borrowed many Romanian terms related to mountain habitat and cattle grazing, and the large corpus of common vocabulary in all European languages reflects a common body of culture across the continent. Similarly, Haugen (1953: 94-96) showed that the patterns of borrowing from English into the American Norwegian of the immigrants he studied were directly related to the economic and official domains (the store, the government, and the American neighbor), that is to those domains in which Norwegian immigrants had to interact with speakers of English. However, in those areas where interaction remained within the group, such as the home, clothing, parts of the body, or religion there were relatively few borrowings.

Need as a main promoter of borrowing is more actively at work in situations of distant contact, when "a community is exposed to new areas of cultural knowledge and experience through contact with others" (Winford 2003: 37) and wants to keep up and modernize itself by assimilating the latest developments in science, technology, etc. Winford (2003) shows that such motivations have promoted borrowing in different times of history and different settings: from Chinese to Japanese in the Middle Ages, from French, Latin and Greek into English in the Early Modern English period, from Italian into many European languages during the Italian Renaissance, or from the French of diplomacy into other languages

in the nineteenth century. Finally, the spread of American culture and technology in the contemporary world is paralleled by the borrowing of many English words into almost all languages (Crystal, 2003; Grosjean, 2001; Myers-Scotton, 2006).

Although linguistic need is customarily seen as resulting in cultural borrowing, some writers have given this factor a very generous meaning, without limiting it strictly to this case. Thus, Backus (1996: 120) argues that nearly any foreign word can be seen as filling a lexical gap in the recipient language, mainly because "translation equivalents are often not exact equivalents", borrowings rendering shades of meaning not perfectly matched by the vocabulary of the recipient language. Conversely, it has often been pointed out that, strictly speaking, need does not exist, as any language has enough resources to create novel designations for new realities.

From this perspective, it is clear that this factor on its own cannot account for all cases of borrowing. Weinreich draws attention to this situation, warning that

> (…) a full account of interference in a language-contact situation, including the diffusion, persistence, and evanescence of a particular interference phenomenon, is possible only if extra-linguistic factors are considered. (Weinreich, 1968: 3)

Among these extra-linguistic factors he mentions psychological (bilingual proficiency, attitudes towards each language) and socio-cultural ones (size of bilingual group and the relative prestige of the languages in contact). Other factors often invoked in the literature are the degree of loyalty to one's native language and the relative tolerance towards foreign interference of any type.

Within this array of social and psychological factors, prestige is particularly important, many writers emphasizing its role in determining the direction and extent of borrowing. For example, Weinreich writes:

> If one language is endowed with prestige, the bilingual is likely to use what are identifiable loanwords from it as a means of displaying the social status which its knowledge symbolizes. (Weinreich, 1968: 59-60)

Haugen, too, sees borrowing as reflecting a wish of the borrowing language community to be integrated into the majority or more prestigious group, or to be identified with some aspects of it:

> Words are often borrowed because they are felt to be prestigious or just novel. This is especially true if the speakers feel inferior to the speakers of the other language, as did the English when they were ruled by the Norman French. The loanword may cause native words to seem inadequate and gradually disused. Hence the many loanwords from Anglo-Norman French in English and from Low German in Scandinavian. (Haugen, 1992: 199 cited in Myers-Scotton, 1993: 172)

The language contact literature contains a very rich body of evidence proving the accuracy of this observation. For example, in a study of French–Dutch contact in Brussels, Treffers-Daller (1999) found that there were ten times as many French borrowings in her Dutch data (2.55%) as there were Dutch words in her French data (0.29%). Since structural factors must have acted equally in one and the same language pair, this situation can be explained solely in terms of the higher status of French as compared to that of Dutch. Similarly, Higa (1979, cited in Grosjean 2001) shows that the Japanese community in Hawaii borrowed English base vocabulary such as pronouns (*me, you*), expressions of time (*last year, one month*), kinship terms (*papa, mama, brother, sister*), and expressions of quantity (*thirty, some, too much*), mainly in order to identify with the American culture and society, or at least with some parts of it.

Prestige as a factor promoting linguistic borrowing is being increasingly credited as a driving force that can effect deep changes into a language. This is why some writers have tried to make the notion more transparent and clearly analyzable into component

elements. For example, Myers-Scotton attempts to explain the concept as follows:

> (…) there is **something more "attractive"** about that language- the attraction largely being associated with the higher prestige of the speakers of that language or its wider use in the community where both languages are spoken. (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 210)

This 'something' can be understood in terms of a language community having more control over a valued resource, be it "political power, socio-economic status or even chachet"–"being more with it". For example, she shows that the Norman French in England after 1066 were seen not only as having political power, but also a mode of living which was more civilized and sophisticated.

Prestige can shed some light on the borrowing process in situations of distant contact as well. For example, Winford (2003: 38) believes that various kinds of borrowings under this type of contact are actually motivated more by considerations of fashion and prestige than by need (e.g. the borrowing of English words into many languages of the world since the mid-twentieth century). An illustrative case in this respect is presented by Loveday (1996, cited in Winford, 2003: 39), who shows that the use of English loanwords in Japanese advertising has the effect of shedding a more appealing light on the products or services offered. Similarly, Myers-Scotton (2006: 211) shows that the spread of Chinese words in different languages of Southeast Asia, or of Portuguese words in many languages around the world in the days of its supremacy on the oceans, can be explained in terms of the relative prestige enjoyed by the communities speaking these languages.

Moreover, prestige and need should not be seen separately, as very often they combine and reinforce each other in a joint effort ultimately leading to borrowing. Thus, Myera-Scotton (2006) shows that the success of English speakers in making advancements in science and technology means that English words are used to fill

lexical gaps in the languages of speech communities embracing these advancements. At the same time, this success projects an image of English as "the language of modernity, the language of cachet" (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 212), the result of this situation being that English words enter languages everywhere, and not only in those domains where lexical gaps have to be filled.

The interplay of these two factors, more exactly the disguised presence of prestige even in those cases when need stands out as the most obvious explanation for borrowing, has led some writers to assign prestige a position which rules out all the other determinants of borrowing. Moravcsik, for example, sees it as the only social factor with an explanatory function in the process of borrowing:

> (…) nothing can be borrowed from a language which is not regarded prestigious by speakers of the borrowing language. (Moravcsik, 1978: 109)

This position is regarded as rather extreme by other writers, who are more cautious when discussing this factor. For example, Thomason and Kaufman believe that

> (…) there is no sociolinguistic or psycholinguistic reason to expect prestige borrowing to exhaust the possibilities even in borrowing proper, let alone in linguistic interference in general. (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 45)

Borrowing as promoted by reasons of prestige or fashion is sometimes dismissed as linguistic snobbery and considered useless or even harmful for the recipient language. Thus, when referring to various Anglicisms that have entered Romanian recently without an internal linguistic motivation, the Romanian researchers in the field prefer to call them 'luxury borrowings' (Stoichițoiu-Ichim, 2001), 'cultisme' (Guțu-Romalo, 2000), or 'peregrinisme' (Dimitrescu, 1995), the general position held being that they are

> (…) împrumuturi inutile, şi în unele cazuri chiar dăunatoare. Ele sunt nemotivate sau posedă motivații de tip negative, precum veleitarismul

> intelectual şi afectarea, traduse prin snobism lingvistic, insuficienta cunoaştere a resurselor limbii materne, comoditatea sau graba care–mai ales în cazul ziariştilor–nu le permite să reflecteze asupra echivalentelor lexicale, pentru a alege termenul cel mai adecvat. (Stoichiţoiu-Ichim, 2001: 95)

This position is in line with the psycholinguistic approach which sees borrowing as a product of the "most available word" phenomenon, which leads the bilingual to borrow from the other language "especially when he or she is tired, lazy, or under stress." (Grosjean, 2001: 311). However, the specialized literature also shows that a foreign word may be introduced almost unconsciously into the speech of an individual as a result of intense bilingualism. This means that, far from being a manifestation of ignorance, snobbery or laziness, borrowing is a natural process, of which most speakers of any language are not even aware (Myers-Scotton, 2006).

It has also been noted in the literature that prestige does not necessarily imply a one-way pattern of transfer from the higher to the lower language, as sometimes borrowing can take place precisely because of the lack of standing associated with a particular language. This happens when a word is taken from a low status language and used pejoratively or for cacophemistic purposes in another one. Following Valkhoff (1931), Baetens- Beardsmore (1982: 48) calls this factor *convenience* and explains it as "a residual feeling of sensitivity to vulgarity which is masked by borrowing an offensive term from another language". Examples in this respect are provided by French speakers in Belgium who often attach negative connotations to Dutch, with the result that many nicknames, swearwords, and insults are borrowed from this language (Baetens-Beardsmore, 1982: 48). Similarly, Weinrech (1968) shows that the French speakers in Switzerland often use German terms for disreputable or badly dressed women. Romanian, too, uses words of Romany origin to describe illicit or immoral activities, and sometimes even English

borrowings that have followed specific adaptation routes are employed with similar stylistic effects, *e.g. bişniță, rackeți, homleşi*.

The notions of 'need' and 'prestige' are not only connected to each other, but they are also firmly rooted into the larger social and cultural context within which language contact takes place (Mougeon and Beniak, 1991; Winford, 2003; Myers-Scotton, 2006). Of particular importance within this overarching socio-cultural framework are the notions of "intensity of contact" and "cultural pressure".

At a macro-social level, intensity of contact can be defined in terms of the relative size of the language groups involved, their sociopolitical relationships, the length of contact, and the bilingual ability of these groups (Winford, 2003: 38). As we move from societal to individual level, intensity of contact receives different dimensions, becoming a function of occupational factors and of the frequency with which a bilingual uses his two languages: when a subject is frequently discussed in a particular language, this can cause interference when the same subject is discussed in another language as well (Beardsmore, 1982: 50). These theoretical predictions are verified by real speech data. For example, in a study of English borrowings in the French of French Canadians, Mougeon and Beniak (1991) show that core borrowings (in this particular case the conjunction *so*) tend to appear in the language of bilinguals who regularly use both of their languages, the relative frequency of language use actually outweighing degree of bilingualism in itself.

Cultural pressure is a "function of the social motivations that promote the adoption of foreign features into a group's L1", including the social and economic advantages that follow from such borrowing, for example social advancement, employment, educational opportunity (Winford, 2003: 38-39). Appel and Muysken (1987: 166-170) show that intensity of contact and cultural pressure combine according to the conditions set by various concrete

situations, and identify the following contact scenarios: invasions (Norse and French influence on English), conquest and domination by a majority culture (Spanish and English influence on various native American languages), limited culture contact (Portuguese influence on Japanese), limited immigration and economic dependence (English influence on Costa Rican Spanish), coexistence in a colonial setting (French influence on different languages).

Within the larger context set by these two socio-cultural factors, lexical borrowing, alongside code-switching, can reflect the sociolinguistic norms of bilingual communities, their employment being "an integral part of the language varieties developed by these communities." (Grosjean, 2001: 330). In other words, borrowing does more than simply answering the linguistic needs of individual speakers, and it becomes a distinctive mark of the speech of bilinguals. Evidence supporting this idea comes from a study by Polack and Sankoff (1988) showing that proficient English–French bilinguals use considerably more nonce borrowings (borrowings not triggered by need) than other speakers. This situation leads the authors to the conclusion that the rate of borrowing (especially of nonce loans) is dependent on some "norms of community behavior" rather than on lexical need.

In addition to the social and cultural determinants of borrowing described above, internal linguistic factors can also trigger the adoption of words from one language into another. Perhaps the most comprehensive account of these factors was put forth by Weinreich (1968: 57-60), who noted that

> (…) the designative inadequacy of a vocabulary in naming new things is not the only cause of lexical innovation. Internal linguistic factors also contribute to the innovating process. (Weinreich, 1968: 57)

A first element that can promote lexical borrowing is homonymy in the recipient language: when two native words sound very much alike, replacing one by a foreign word resolves potential ambiguities.

For example, Weinreich shows, the clash between the words for 'cart' (< CARRUM) and 'meat' (< CARNEM) in Vosges has determined the borrowing of *voiture* and *viande* from French. The mechanism by which borrowing solves ambiguity is not universal, however, and it can even be reversed, sometimes lexical interference producing, rather than solving homonymy. Thus, Amer.Polish has borrowed the English *moving* as *muviq*, in spite of the existence of the homophonous *moviq* 'speak' (Weinreich, 1968). Similarly, Chapter 3 of this book will show that a large number of English borrowings in contemporary Romanian have brought about homonymy in this language.

Borrowing can also be related to the constant need for synonyms in certain semantic fields, for example emotions, food, and communication. Weinreich believes that affective words are prone to lose their expressive force, and as a result, many languages experience a constant need for synonyms, or "an onomastic low-pressure area, as it were." (1968: 58). This is especially true for semantic fields like 'talking', 'beating', 'sleeping', 'tallness', or 'ugliness', and it can be illustrated with examples from different language pairs. For instance, some loanwords from Finnish into dialectal Russian, which cannot be explained as a result of cultural diffusion or prestige considerations, can be included in this category.

Similarly, we think that English words like *cool, trendy,* or *OK* are attracted by such a semantic low-pressure area in Romanian, which seems to be in constant need of words to describe and qualify situations, people, objects, etc. In addition to these examples, Stoichițoiu-Ichim (2001) is of the opinion that *leader* has been borrowed into Romanian as a result of a perceived need to find a synonym to the native *conducător,* which has been compromised due to its association with the communist regime and Ceaușescu.

Sometimes, borrowing serves to effect new semantic distinctions in a word, thus solving cases of insufficient

differentiation in certain semantic fields. For example, Weinreich reports, the Italian dialect of Switzerland had a single word, *corona*, to denote 'wreath' and 'crown'. As a result of contact with German this was felt as being under-differentiated, and as a consequence, the German *Kranz* for 'wreath' was borrowed, while *corona* for 'crown' was retained. Similarly, the Yiddish *xolemen* 'to dream' was insufficiently differentiated in contrast to the Polish *snic* 'to dream in one's sleep' and *marzyc* 'to fancy'; as a result, the German loanword *trojmen* (<traumen) was introduced, while *xolemen* narrowed its meaning.

Another internal factor that can contribute to lexical innovation is the low-frequency of some words. Due to their limited usage, these words are less stable and more likely to be replaced, in a way that makes it very easy for foreign words to penetrate the language. For example, the infrequent and unstable designations for parts of tools in dialectal Russian led to the borrowing of the Finnish terms in the Finnish contact area. A word with many ramified associations, on the other hand, can prevent a borrowing from replacing it. Thus, many kinship terms in Yaqui, Weinreich shows, were replaced by Spanish words, with the exception of the word for 'mother', which was better rooted semantically into the language. The instability that leads to replacement through borrowing is sometimes reflected in the diversity of expressions for a certain concept. Such is the case with the large number of designations for 'pine cone' in Vosges, which facilitated its replacement with the French *pomme*. Similarly, we believe that the borrowing into Romanian of words like *brand, card, deadline, discount,* and *retail* was supported by the relatively peripheral character of their native equivalents, in addition to communicative and symbolic motivations.

Weinreich's factors have received different classifications in subsequent studies of borrowing. Grosjean (2001) and Winford (2003) have divided them into internal factors (homonymy, low

frequency, semantic differentiation) and external factors (the need for synonymy, designation inadequacy), while Appel and Muysken (1987: 165-166) prefer to see them in terms of the linguistic functions borrowings perform: factors connected to the referential function of language (cultural influence, low frequency words, homonymy, making new semantic distinctions), and those connected to the expressive and directive functions (the need for synonyms and the pejorative use of words taken from a low status language).

Ideological and attitudinal factors constitute another category of elements that can influence the borrowing process (Weinreich, 1968; Thomason, 2001; Winford, 2003; Myers-Scotton, 2006). Thus, loyalty to one's native language and pride in its autonomy may encourage resistance to transfers from another language. Myers-Scotton (2006: 214) presents the example of German, which, at the time when the phone was invented, preferred to call it *Fernsprecher* ('far' + 'speaker') instead of borrowing the English word. An even more obvious instance of attitudinal and ideological barriers to foreign importations is what she calls "cultural borrowing in reverse", or the replacing of existing borrowings with native words. For example, after Turkey became independent of the Ottoman dynasty in the 1920s, the Arabic script was replaced by the Latin alphabet, and the Turkish Language Society for the Purification of the Language was established, with the role to replace Arabic words with words of Turkish extraction.

Although warning that the notion of 'attitude' is rather vague and difficult to make more precise, Thomason (2001: 77) believes that this factor can overrule structural and social ones, speakers' attitudes sometimes producing exceptions to the soundest generalizations that can be formulated. For example, although under strong cultural pressure from English, Montana Salish speakers preferred to resort to creations and loanshifts in preference to loanwords and loanblends, constructing new words out of their native lexical stock

in order to designate items new to their culture. For instance, the word for automobile–*p'ip'uysn* literally meaning 'wrinkled feet'–is composed entirely of native Salish morphemes; other new words in the language are a result of semantic borrowing or calquing on the model of English expressions.

At the opposite pole are speech communities which have borrowed so extensively that their language preserved very little of its original lexical and grammatical inventory. Such is the case with the Laha speakers of Indonesia and Ma'a speakers of Tanzania, who replaced their grammars by Malay and Bantu grammar respectively. Such different situations and reactions to language change can only be accounted for in terms of very different attitudes towards it, and the author concludes:

> Attitudes can be either barriers to change or promoters of change. (Thomason, 2001: 85)

An important idea that must be remembered in relation to the factors promoting borrowing is that they usually act in combination rather than alone. Various writers in the field have drawn attention to this idea:

> The borrowing of any word can be explained by one or several of the various enumerated causes of lexical interference. (Weinreich, 1968: 61)

> We prefer to consider what happens to languages in contact as the result of universally present processes, based on the political-social relations of the speakers, their demographics, and their innate linguistic predispositions. (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 210)

For example, Grosjean (2001: 336) shows that French has borrowed *boyfriend* and *girlfriend*, for two reasons: the French words *fiancé(e), compagnon/compagne, concubine/concubine,* and *amant/maitresse* were felt to be too formal and old-fashioned (a need for synonyms in this field), and the new words were better suited to express the modern relationship between man and woman, which has been influenced in part by American culture (cultural diffusion). Similarly, many of the

English words borrowed into Romanian after 1989, *e.g. job, staff, trend, trader, deal,* may be seen as fulfilling the functions mentioned above (synonymy creation and the designation of new realities) as well as projecting connotations of modernity and power (prestige).

The factors discussed in this chapter must be regarded with the following provision: they represent necessary but not sufficient conditions for borrowing. This means that the presence of one or several of these factors in a given language contact situation does not guarantee that borrowing will take place. Language change is an unpredictable process, the result of a complex interplay of various social, psychological, and structural factors which can promote borrowing or, on the contrary, hinder it. While linguistic borrowing is almost always the result of several of these factors, it is difficult to predict their interaction, or even to retrospectively explain how they combined in the process.

2.2 Constraints on borrowing

2.2.1 Structural constraints

Treffers-Daller (2000: 2) shows that an important concern in the second half of the twentieth century was to discover the linguistic constraints on the borrowing process, the main purpose of the studies on this topic being to find out what word classes were more easily transferred than others in situations of contact and why. This concern mirrored a move in interest from the study of borrowing as a product to its study as a process, governed by various structural and socio-linguistic rules.

The observation that specific lexical categories are more likely to be borrowed than others led different authors to formulate hierarchies of borrowing of various levels of generality. Thus, as Treffers-Daller (2000: 3) shows, some of them made proposals aimed

at establishing universals of grammatical borrowing (Moravcsik, 1978), while others put forth concrete hierarchies of borrowability which tried to capture the grammatical constraints on the borrowing process (Haugen, 1950; Weinreich, 1968; Muysken, 1981; Singh, 1985). Some of these hierarchies were empirically tested in large quantitative studies which appeared towards the end of the eighties (Poplack, Sankoff and Miller 1988), and contained large databases of actual speech in situations of language contact. For example, the authors mentioned above demonstrated the predominance of nouns as borrowed elements, followed by verbs, adjectives, conjunctions, interjections, prepositions, and non-lexical items.

Most of the hierarchies proposed in the literature were formulated relative to a specific language pair, and varied in complexity and length from broad and general to narrow and specific. Several of the most important of these hierarchies are reviewed in Appel and Muysken (1987: 170-171) and briefly presented below, together with other proposals made by various language contact researchers.

One of the earliest attempts to rank the elements of a language, along a scale of borrowability, dates back to the nineteenth century and belongs to the Sanskritist William Dwight Whitney (1881), who proposed the following hierarchy:

Nouns – other parts of speech – suffixes – inflexions – sounds

Using data from the speech of Norwegian immigrants in the United States, Haugen (1950) elaborates on this early scale and arrives at the following “scale of adoptability”:

Nouns–verbs–adjectives–adverbs–prepositions–interjections–…

The principle governing this scale is that the structural organization of the language, or the degree of entrenchment of certain features,

prevents them from being borrowed or, on the contrary, aids their transfer. This general principle is formulated as follows:

> (...) the more habitual and subconscious a feature of language is, the harder it will be to change. (Haugen, 1950: 98)

Based on a similar overarching principle of structural dependency, Weinreich (1968: 35) proposes to range the morpheme classes of a language along a continuum of borrowability, from inflectional endings (the most structurally and syntagmatically integrated ones and consequently the most difficult to transfer), through "grammatical words" such as prepositions, articles, auxiliary verbs, to "full-fledged words" like nouns, verbs, and adjectives, and to independent adverbs and completely unintegrated prepositions.

Other similar hierarchies were put forth by Singh (1985) on the basis of English borrowings in Hindi:

> *Nouns – adjectives – verbs – prepositions,*

and Muysken (1981), starting from the analysis of Spanish borrowings in Quechua:

> *Nouns – adjectives – verbs – prepositions – coordinating conjunctions – quantifiers – determiners – free pronouns – clitic pronouns – subordinating conjunctions*

Romaine (1995) proposes the following, more general ranking:

> *Lexical items – derivational morphology – inflectional morphology – syntax*

Other hierarchies proposed in the literature are implicational in nature, preconditioning the borrowing of one element upon the presence of another. Such an implicational hierarchy was formulated by Moravcsik (1978), and it consists of a set of more general principles that are expected to bar certain elements from entering a language under specific circumstances. For example, this model

requires the presence of lexical elements from the source language before the adoption of non-lexical elements from this language is possible:

> No non-lexical language property can be borrowed unless the borrowing language already includes lexical items from the same source language. (Moravcsik, 1978: 110)

However, the literature provides exceptions to this claim, offering examples of function words or other elements of grammar that were borrowed before lexical elements were, e.g. the Finno-Ugric structural influence on languages like Lithuanian, Latvian and northern Russian in the relative absence of lexical loans (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 242- 250). Harris and Campbell also show that in many Latin American Indian languages Spanish conjunctions were borrowed very early, and conclude that "there would seem to be no inherent connection between prior lexical borrowings and grammatical loans" (1995: 134).

Another of Moravcsik's rules states that bound morphemes, e.g. clitics, affixes, and parts of compounds, as well as phonetic segments or features, cannot be borrowed without the stems they are part of. For example, she claims that *–ette* (as in *kitchenette*) exists in English only because *cigarette* and *statuette,* which were borrowed as whole words, contained this suffix. This principle was also formulated by Bloomfield (1933: 454) and has received considerable support in the literature, although counterexamples have been shown to exist. For example, Harris and Campbell (1995: 134) report on bound clitics having been borrowed from Finnish to Lapp, without any compelling evidence to suggest that 'host' content words had been borrowed first.

Other rules formulated by Moravcsik state that the borrowing of different parts of speech from a language is preconditioned by the borrowing of nouns from that language, that inflectional affixes cannot be borrowed without derivational affixes having been

borrowed as well, that conjunctions and prepositions must be transferred together with their word order specifications, or that the exclusive borrowing of the inflected forms of a word, when that word also has uninflected forms, is not possible. Although these constraints describe some general tendencies, they have been challenged in the literature due to the large number of examples disproving their claims (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988; Harris and Campbell, 1995).

The hierarchies presented above differ in complexity and depth, as well as in the specific places occupied by different parts of speech (for example verbs and adjectives), but they all have in common the prevalence of content words over function words. This situation has received several explanations in the literature, from structural to semantic, social, and pragmatic ones.

From a structural point of view, at the heart of this preference for lexical elements lies the idea that features displaying structural autonomy and stability are less resistant to borrowing than those involved in structural dependency relations, the degree to which such structural influences between languages are accepted in the literature ranging from almost complete rejection to an "almost anything goes" attitude (Weinreich 1968: 29).

Thus, the same writer reports, earlier linguists like Meillet and Sapir believed that a language's grammar is highly resistant to change, this resistance even verging on impenetrability. "The grammatical systems of two languages… are impenetrable to each other." Meillet writes (350, I, 82 cited in Weinreich 1968: 29), while Sapir bluntly states that "nowhere do we find any but superficial morphological interinfluencings." (472, 217, cited in Weinreich, 1968: 29). Other writers, on the other hand, have defended the opposite view. For example Schuchardt (497, 195, cited in Weinreich, 1968: 29) says that "Even closely knit structures [dichte Zusammenschlüsse], like inflectional endings, are not secure against invasion by foreign

material." and Muhlhausler (1985, 1997: 142, cited in Clyne, 2003: 93) goes as far as to suggest that morphology may be the first 'victim' of language contact. According to other opinions, although structural borrowing does exist, we cannot speak about it as an autonomous phenomenon of language contact, i.e. in the absence of lexical transfers between the source and the recipient language. Winford, for example, prefers to see structural borrowing as an indirect effect of lexical borrowing, rather than an independent form of borrowing in itself:

> It seems uncontroversial that (heavy) lexical borrowing can result in transfer of structural features as well. This kind of indirect structural borrowing is well attested, as we will see. However, it seems somewhat unusual for structural features to be directly borrowed. Why would native speakers of a language ever adopt purely structural features from an external language, if equivalent features in their own language are already adequate to their needs? (Winford, 2003: 30)

The idea of structural dependency being the main barrier to borrowing has received different formulations in the literature. For example, Appel and Muysken (1987: 172) formulate it in terms of word class organization, paradigmatically organized or closed categories (e.g. pronouns, determiners, demonstratives) being affected by language contact differently from those syntagmatically organized (e.g. nouns, verbs, adjectives). This situation is due to the fact that the former class is more tightly organized than the latter, thus not allowing easily for additions or changes. In other words, the ease of adopting foreign elements will depend on the degree of variation admitted in the respective component of the language, so that the lexicon will be most susceptible to replacement while the paradigmatic morphology least susceptible. This proposal can be related to Weinreich's observation that low frequency words, which are those words showing most synonymy, will be least stable and therefore replaced first in a language contact situation.

Other writers (Weinreich, 1968; Harris and Campbell, 1995) understand structural dependency as degree of morpheme boundedness. For example, Weinreich postulates that the more highly bound the morpheme (e.g. inflection, case ending, function word) the less likely its borrowing, unless it is being transferred into a very similar system. This correlation between degree of boundedness and transferability derives from the fact that the former characteristic entails stability and strong integration into the structure of the language, being tightly connected with increased functional load and lack of referential meaning:

> Indeed, it stands very much to reason that the transfer of morphemes is facilitated between highly congruent structures; for a highly bound morpheme is so dependent on its grammatical function (as opposed to its designative function) that it is useless in an alien system unless there is a ready function for it. (Weinreich, 1968: 33)

Based on these observations, the following general hypothesis is formulated:

> The fuller the integration of the morpheme, the less likelihood of its transfer. (Weinreich, 1968: 35)

The principle of boundedness as preventing borrowing can also be seen from the perspective of other concepts used in the literature. For example, the distinction between marked and unmarked features has proven particularly useful to those seeking a principled way of accounting for borrowing constraints. Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 49) describe marked features in terms of ease of learning, as being the hardest to learn, both for perceptual and for productive reasons. Unmarked features, on the other hand, represent "the more basic, natural and/or frequent forms of constructions in a language" (Clyne, 2003: 98), being characterized by optimality, lack of saliency, generality of meaning, and frequency of use. For example, Clyne shows that the English 'sheep' is more basic and unmarked than 'ewe', which refers to the female sheep only, while the OSV order in

English (*e.g. This I cannot accept*) is more marked than the general SVO order.

Since markedness is more relevant in morphology than in other compartments of the language, elements of morphology will resist borrowing more than other linguistic elements, and free-standing grammatical forms will be more easily borrowed than bound morphemes. A particular consequence of the claim regarding the resistance to borrowing of marked feature is that, when typologically different languages are in contact, the more isolating or non-flexional language will tend to prevail over the more morphological one, synthetic constructions being replaced by analytic or periphrastic ones:

> If two languages in contact share a given morphological category, then interference from one language to the other with respect to that category is more likely than not to result in replacement of a particular kind of morphological expression by another of the same type. If the source language expresses a given category syntactically and the recipient language expresses it morphologically, the recipient language is quite likely to adopt the syntactic means of expression. But, in the reverse case, the recipient language is relatively less likely to replace its own syntactic expression with a corresponding morphological one from the source language. (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 56)

Several examples that can be used to support this claim are provided by Weinreich (1968: 41-42): the replacement of suffixed pronominal possessors on nouns by analytic constructions in Estonian under Germanic influence, in Amharic under Cushitic influence and in colloquial Israeli Hebrew under Yiddish and other European influence.

However, counterexamples to this claim have been found to exist. Thus, Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 20) themselves present the case of Ma'a (Cushitic) that has taken on inflectional morphology from Bantu, and that of Asia Minor Greek which has added third-

person possessive suffixes to nouns on the Turkish model. Similarly, Heath (1978: 73 cited in Harris and Campbell, 1995: 131) documents the borrowing of a negative suffix from Ngandi into Ritharngu, which replaced the original unbound negative particle in this language. Such counterexamples are usually found in situations of intense contact between the donor and recipient language. As Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 51) explain, although markedness acts as an important barrier to structural borrowing in situations of casual or slight contact, that is when the level of bilingualism is low in the borrowing-language group, as bilingualism advances and recipient language speakers become more proficient in the source language, they will master marked and unmarked features equally well, so the former (especially in phonology and syntax) will be very likely to be transferred with the latter.

Another important element promoting structural borrowing is categorial equivalence, or the matching of categories such as tense, word order, and gender across languages. This can be a very important factor in inter-language transfers because grammatical functions that are performed in one language by morphemes may be performed by grammatical relations (order, agreement, similar relations between grammatical units, modulations of stress and pitch) in another (Weinreich, 1968: 39). When satisfied, strong categorial equivalence can override other constraints, such as those based on boundedness or markedness, and result in a particular type of inter-language structural transfers–borrowing as replacement or 'morphological renewal' (Harris and Campbell, 1995). Under this form of transfer the borrowed morpheme replaces an old one, without creating a new category.

This kind of structural borrowing is widely supported and documented in the literature (Weinrech, 1968; Thomason and Kaufman, 1988; Harris and Campbell, 1995). For example, Harris and Campbell (1995) show that in some dialects of Serbo-Croatian several

case + number suffixes were replaced by the functionally equivalent suffixes of standard Serbo-Croatian, even though both types of suffixes are typologically flexional and bound, and therefore not borrowable according to the constraints presented so far. Similarly, Weinreich (1968) presents an example due to T. Capian: Bulgarian verb endings for the first and second persons singular *-um (-am)* and *-is* (as in *aflum, aflis* 'I find, you find') were transferred into Meglenite Romanian in the absence of any content words to carry these suffixes. He explains this transfer as being facilitated by the existence in Romanian of a conjugation structure congruent to that of Bulgarian, i.e. the existence of the category of first/second person singular, present indicative.

However, the principle of borrowing as replacement or morphological renewal is not unanimously accepted. On the contrary, some writers have argued that languages borrow precisely because they lack useful categories and constructions existing in other languages with which they come into contact, thus suggesting that lack of categorial equivalence may promote rather than hinder borrowing. In other words, borrowing fills gaps not only in the lexicon but also in the grammar of the recipient language. Heath (1978: 75-77, cited in Harris and Campbell, 1995: 129) presents the case of a number of languages of Arnhem Land, which have created a formerly unattested category of 'ergative' by diffusion from each other. Harris and Campbell (1995: 134) also show that many Mesoamerican languages changed their typology as a result of their contact with Spanish, for example by borrowing prepositions even though this category was entirely absent before the moment of contact. Other examples to support this theory refer to languages that have borrowed conjunctions and/or various subordinating words when they came into contact with other languages already possessing these categories.

The principles of categorial and functional equivalence presented above can be seen as part of a larger, more general constraint known as the structural-compatibility requirement. As its name suggests, this requirement claims that inter-language grammatical transfers are only possible between very similar structures. While some writers (Meillet 1914 cited in Harris and Campbell, 1995: 123) went so far as to claim that grammatical transfers were possible only between dialects of the same language, others defended a less absolute variant of this constrain. For example, Vogt (cited in Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 18) argues that foreign elements must correspond to "innovation possibilities offered by the receiving system" (1954: 372), and Jakobson (1938: 241) believes that "a language accepts foreign structural elements only when they correspond to its tendencies for development". Similarly, Coşeriu (1996) proposes that borrowed material must fit the system of possible modifications offered by the receiving system, only changes in the 'norms' which conform to possibilities already present in the system being permitted.

Harris and Campbell argue against this claim on grounds that it predicts the impossibility of a language changing its typology as a result of foreign influence, a situation which is well documented in the literature. For example, they show that syntactic borrowings in American Finnish produced typological changes in the language which do not conform to the 'system' of standard Finnish, Ethiopian Semitic word order typology underwent drastic changes as a result of its contact with Cushitic, the South Asian linguistic area received syntactic borrowings from Hindi-Urdu, and all literary Dravidian languages borrowed relative clause formations with finite verbs from Indo-Aryan, as opposed to native Dravidian participial relative clauses (Harris and Campbell, 1995: 124-125). Similarly, Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 18) report on the massive introduction of Turkish features into the grammar of Asia Minor Greek, even if these

features cannot be explained as following tendencies already present in Greek: word order patterns, relative clause formation, phonetics, phonemic inventory, agglutination, and borrowed morphemes.

The conclusion that stands out from this review of grammatical constraints on borrowing is that structural factors on their own cannot fully account for all possible outcomes of language contact. In this context, other factors, such as semantic, social, and pragmatic ones need to be considered in the attempt to explain why some classes of words are more likely to be borrowed than others.

2.2.2 Semantic constraints

Some writers (Weinreich, 1968; Appel and Muysken, 1987; Myers-Scotton, 2002, 2006 among others) have tried to account for the increased borrowability of content words as being partly a lexical-semantic matter, or a consequence of the general reasons for borrowing. Thus, one of the most important factors promoting inter-language transfers is the need for new words to designate novel concepts that get borrowed as a result of cultural diffusion. This fundamentally referential function is performed by content words (especially nouns), which, unlike function words, have a clear link to cultural content. Weinreich argues that "in a cultural setting where the emphasis in borrowing is on things spiritual and abstract, loanwords other than nouns may again occupy a larger place" (1968: 37) and uses this argument to explain the large number of verbs, adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions among the loanwords from Hebrew into Yiddish.

The prevalence of certain words classes over others in contact situations should also be seen in relation to the internal organization of the languages involved, as different languages may use different strategies in order to express the same thing. Thus, some writers have maintained that the percentage held by a certain part of speech in the total corpus of borrowings becomes relevant only when

compared to its distribution in both the source and the recipient language. Weinreich (1968: 37) was one of the first researchers to suggest that various hierarchies of borrowability may just reflect the distribution of grammatical classes in native-language material rather than the propensity of specific items to be borrowed. For example, he shows that in a language like Nootka, which uses mainly verbs to refer to concrete 'things' expressed by nouns in the European languages, the percentage of nouns in the total of borrowings would probably be lower than predicted by these hierarchies. Similarly, Romaine (1995: 65) shows that the Panjabi–English bilingual community in Britain has borrowed mostly verbs as a result of the preference Panjabi shows for this class.

In a study of English–French bilingualism, Poplack et al. (1988) checked this hypothesis by analyzing a large corpus of actual speech data. Their analysis revealed that the predilection for borrowing English nouns exceeded by more than five times the frequency of this category in French, indicating that nouns had a propensity to be borrowed over and above their frequency of occurrence in the host language. The explanation they put forth is a structural-semantic one: nouns carry a lighter syntactic luggage than verbs, posing fewer problems as regards their integration into the inflectional morphology of the recipient language, and at the same time they have the heaviest content load. A similar study was conducted by Treffers-Daller (1994) on French–Dutch bilingual speech, with the result that the frequency of different parts of speech in the total of borrowings was found to diverge significantly from that held by these speech parts in monolingual discourse.

The numerical superiority of nouns over other grammatical classes such as verbs and adjectives has also received other explanations in the literature. For example, Myers-Scotton (2006: 226-229) shows that nouns can encode various thematic roles or not as a result of their "intrinsic semantic nature" (e.g. in general only

animate nouns can be agents, but many types of nouns can be patients, and this tends to remain true from one language to another). Thus, a noun like 'tree' cannot be the agent "in any strict sense", regardless of the particular language in which it occurs, the author argues. Verbs, on the other hand, the grammatical elements that do the mapping of the nouns and encode information about what type of nouns can occur in a particular syntactic structure, are subject to more cross-linguistic variance.

In a study of Turkish–Dutch contact in the Netherlands, and at a more in-depth level of semantic analysis, Backus (1996) argues that the borrowing of various lexical items is constrained by their specificity. Specificity can be defined both in terms of semantic definiteness ('entrenchment potential') and in terms of structural autonomy. He places all lexical items on a gradual scale of specificity, which he calls the Specificity Continuum, and maintains that in the earliest stages of bilingualism only the most specific lexical units (e.g. proper nouns) are transferred from the new language. As intensity of contact increases, slightly less specific units will be borrowed as well, such as words for concepts that are new to the culture of the recipient language. Since function words are very low on this continuum of semantic specificity, their borrowing is constrained on semantic grounds, in addition to structural considerations.

Some writers have used semantic arguments, in addition to structural and functional ones, in order to account for the low borrowability of bound morphemes. For example, Harris and Campbell (1995: 136) explain the increased borrowability of derivational affixes as compared to inflectional ones as being a result of their clearer meaning. Thus, a semantically weak or redundant suffix (e.g. verb agreement) is unlikely to be borrowed, while affixes with a clear semantic content (e.g. plural, genitive, gender, and most

derivational morphemes) stand a higher chance of being taken over in a situation of language contact.

Matras also sees ease of borrowing as a combination of structural and referential stability:

> (…) elements that show structural autonomy and referential stability are more likely to be affected by contact than those that display stronger structural dependency and referential vagueness or abstractness. (Matras, 1998: 283)

The review of the most important structural and semantic constraints proposed in the literature reveals their lack of universality, which is evident in the large number of counterexamples that have been found to each and every one of them. The structuralist belief that the most highly structured subsystems of a language are the most stable ones is not always verified by real speech data. In these conditions, it is generally agreed that these proposed constraints and the resulting borrowability hierarchies should be seen as general tendencies, rather than as absolute rules. This position has been explicitly expressed as follows:

> The moral for would-be constrainers of grammatical borrowing, then, is that given enough time and intensity of contact, virtually anything can (ultimately) be borrowed. (Harris and Campbell, 1995: 149)

> (...) as far as the strictly linguistic possibilities go, any linguistic feature can be transferred from any language to any other language. (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 45)

> Indeed, there are in principle no limits (except those imposed by Universal Grammar) to what speakers of different languages will adopt and adapt from one another, given the right opportunity. (Winford, 2003: 5)

2.2.3 Social and pragmatic factors

This "anything goes" approach is not meant to undermine the coherence that different studies have tried to impose on the process of borrowing. It simply signals a shift in focus from linguistic factors to social, cultural, or even psychological ones. These are seen as ultimately deciding what and when will get borrowed from one language into another. Coteanu (1957, cited in Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 36), for example, states that

> Selon nous, cette question ne depend pas du charactere de la structure grammaticale des langue en contact, mais d'une serie de facteurs de nature sociale.

Winford (2003: 25) also uses the idea of an overarching social frame within which contact takes place, and which is probably more important than the various structural constraints proposed in the literature. This social determinant of borrowing is taken to consist of a complex interplay of elements such as: "the types of community settings, the demographics of the populations in contact, the codes and patterns of social interaction between them, the ideologies and attitudes that govern their linguistic choices", degree of bilingualism and length of contact, as well as the direction and amount of cultural pressure between the two speech groups in contact, or the "power relationships" between them. These make up the "social ecology of the contact situation", or the intricate social network that governs the process and products of linguistic borrowing.

A very well documented account of borrowing from a social perspective, seen as governing the linguistic determinants of this process, belongs to Thomason and Kaufman in their 1988 work on language contact. They state this idea as follows:

> The starting point for our theory of linguistic interference is this: it is the sociolinguistic history of the speakers, and not the structure of their language, that is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of

> language contact. Purely linguistic considerations are relevant but strictly secondary overall. […]. Both the direction of interference and the extent of interference are socially determined; so, to a considerable degree, are the kinds of features transferred from one language to another. (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 35)

The notion which is central to Thomason and Kaufman's theory is that of intensity of contact between the source and the recipient language. Intensity of contact can be seen as containing three main dimensions: length of contact, relative population size, and degree of bilingualism. Of these three factors, the first and the third one are regarded as crucial parameters in a contact situation, long-term contact with wide-spread bilingualism among borrowing language speakers being an important prerequisite of extensive structural borrowing. In addition to being a by-product of length of contact, bilingualism also results from "the more nebulous factor of cultural pressure", broadly employed to mean "any combination of social factors that promote borrowing, e.g. prestige or economic forces that make bilingualism necessary" (1988: 77).

According to Thomason and Kaufman, cultural pressure is a function of political or numerical dominance on a subordinate population living within the sphere of influence of another group. Examples include the influence of Turkish on Asia Minor and the Slavic influence on some kinds of Romany. In other cases cultural pressure is not exerted via dominance of any kind, but through more intimate contact, as for example in mixed marriages and/or more intimate social connections. The best-known example for this kind of situation is due to Gumperz and Wilson (1971): in the village of Kupwar in India three languages converged grammatically under conditions of constant contact and bi/multilingualism.

Intensity of contact as a determining factor in borrowing situations should not be seen separately from structural factors. On the contrary, it is intimately connected with the relative degree of

structuredness of various grammatical subsystems, so that "the more internal structure a subsystem has, the more intense the contact must be in order to result in structural borrowing" (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 73). Another factor that can influence the type of features borrowed from one language into another, but has a variable importance depending on the stage of contact, is the typological distance between the source and the recipient language. Thus, this factor plays an important part in cases of slight contact, but becomes increasingly peripheral as contact intensifies, being almost irrelevant in cases of very intense contact.

Based on the combination of these elements, Thomason and Kaufman put forth a scale of borrowing which can be used to measure the general outcome of contact between two languages, and which is governed by the following general principle:

> The more intense the contact situation is, the more likely it is that extensive structural borrowing will occur. (Thomason and Kaufman, 1988: 67)

Although this scale is not necessarily an implicational one, the authors propose that, unless the two languages in contact are typologically close, the borrowing of features lower on the scale will be conditioned upon the borrowing of features higher on the scale. It can be summarized as follows:

Stage	Features
1. casual contact	Lexical borrowing only: content words
2. slightly more intense contact	Lexical borrowing: conjunctions and adverbial particles Slight structural borrowing: new sounds in loanwords, new syntactic orderings, semantic features
3. more intense contact	Lexical borrowing: adpositions, derivational affixes used on native words, personal and demonstrative pronouns, low numerals, inflectional affixes in loanwords Slightly more structural borrowing: slight syntactic

	changes.
4. strong cultural pressure	Moderate structural borrowing: new sounds in native vocabulary, more important word order changes, inflectional affixes are added to native words
5. very strong cultural pressure	Heavy structural borrowing: major structural features that cause significant typological disruption

Figure 2.1 Borrowing scale according to Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 74-76)

In the first stage, that of casual contact, content words are borrowed exclusively, with words from the non-basic vocabulary being borrowed before those from the basic vocabulary. This type of borrowing does not require widespread bilingualism among borrowing-language speakers, and it usually results in cultural borrowing alone. Sometimes, Thomason and Kaufman show, a very large number of loanwords flood into the borrowing language without bringing about any structural borrowing. For example, hundreds of Indic loanwords entered Southeast Asian languages without causing any structural interference. Similarly, English-speaking British citizens living in India during the days of British rule borrowed many Indian words for local items, but without adopting any non-English sounds.

Slightly more intense contact will usually lead to slight structural borrowing, in addition to lexical loans. At this stage, the lexicon borrows function words, especially conjunctions and various adverbial particles. As far as structure is concerned, minor phonological features (the appearance of new phonemes in loanwords), syntactic features (new functions and new orderings causing little or no typological disruption), and lexical semantic features are introduced into the recipient language.

Stage three is characterized by more intense contact between the two speech communities and slightly more structural borrowing. At this stage the lexicon borrows function words, derivational affixes which may be used on native vocabulary, inflectional affixes used

only together with borrowed words, personal and demonstrative pronouns, and low numerals belonging to the basic vocabulary. As regards structure, slightly less minor structural features than those in category two get borrowed, for example incomplete word order changes and postpositions borrowed in an otherwise prepositional language. Such examples of slight structural borrowing can be found in immigrants' languages, as well as in cases of distant contact mainly through the written medium.

This special case involving contact through the written medium and in the absence of actual oral bilingualism among borrowing-language speakers can be exemplified through the Latin influence on English (e.g. restricting negatives to one per clause, the prohibition against split infinitives), or the Chinese influence on Japanese (e.g. a very large number of Chinese loanwords, including numerals, adopted in Japanese, the imitation of Chinese word order). Thomason and Kaufman maintain that the social circumstances supporting this type of contact do not promote extensive structural borrowing, as a result of "attitudinal barriers to borrowing, or an insufficiently high level of bilingualism among borrowing-language speakers, or many of other reasons." (1988: 80)

Cases of strong cultural pressure will usually result in the borrowing of structural features that cause relatively little typological change. Such structural features include new phonemes used with native vocabulary, word order and other syntactic changes, inflectional affixes and categories (for example new cases) added to native words, especially if the source and the recipient language are typologically close. Weinreich's description of German borrowings into Romansh is illustrative of this stage: loss of gender in predicate adjectives, a partial shift from noun–adjective word order to adjective–noun word order, the future tense formation. The social factors promoting structural borrowing in this case are a high level of bilingualism among Romansh speakers and the absence of a

standard Romansh dialect. Other examples presented by Thomason and Kaufman include the replacement of the Estonian possessive pronominal suffix by a German analytic possessive construction, the adoption of some cases into Ossetic from Caucasian languages, and the Kupwar situation in India, as described by Gumperz and Wilson (1971).

When cultural pressure becomes very strong the result will be heavy structural borrowing, which means that major structural features causing significant typological disruption are borrowed. Such features include "added morphophonemic rules; phonetic changes; (…) changes in word structure rules (e.g. adding prefixes in a language that was exclusively suffixing, or a change from flexional toward agglutinative morphology), categorial as well as more extensive ordering changes in morphosyntax, added concord rules, including bound pronominal elements" (1988: 75-76). At this level, there are no typologically-based constraints on the borrowing process: "literally anything goes" (1988: 91). An example of heavy structural borrowing is Asia Minor Greek under Turkish influence (the borrowing of various word order features, vowel harmony), or Chinese under Tibetan influence.

Although structural and social reasons for word class borrowability are most often discussed in the literature, other approaches have also been used. Several studies in the nineties are characterized by a shift in focus from structural and social constraints on borrowing to pragmatic and discoursal ones. Salmons (1990), for example, uses such factors to explain why speakers of American German dialects in central Texas very frequently use mainly English discourse markers (*you know, well, of course*), while the German discourse marking system of modal particles is gradually disappearing. He maintains that these discourse markers fulfill an important pragmatic and discoursal function in regulating

the flow of conversation, directing the listener's attention to changes, making conversational repairs, etc.

Matras (1998) also shows that grammatical constraints on their own cannot satisfactorily explain why interjections, discourse markers (*well* and *anyway)*, and adverbial particles are among the most frequently borrowed words in many contact situations. Moreover, in a study of borrowing in different dialects of Romany he finds that structurally identical utterance modifiers display different behaviours in terms of their borrowability. In order to explain this situation, he discusses pragmatic factors and establishes a correlation between the stability and autonomy deriving from structural simplicity, and a high level of pragmatic saliency and therefore transferability:

> (…) stable, autonomous elements are pragmatically more salient and so more likely to be added to a repertoire of borrowings based on just occasional impressions of the donor language.(Matras, 1998: 283)

Thus, although syntactic autonomy clearly plays a role in the borrowing equation, some elements are transferred more easily than others due to their function not to their form, or as a result of the pragmatic pressures exerted by the dominant language upon the subordinate one. The term 'pragmatically dominant language' is used to refer to "the role of a given language in regulating mental processing activities" (1998: 286), thus pointing towards a psycholinguistic dimension of the borrowing process. From this perspective, borrowing is seen as a consequence of the need to reduce the cognitive overload caused by the availability of two separate linguistic systems:

> I attribute synchronic variation in the speech of bilinguals to the cognitive pressure exerted on them to draw on the resources of the pragmatically dominant language for situative, gesturelike discourse-regulating purposes. (Matras, 1998: 281)

Matras' approach to the constraints problem is new, because he sets out to explain the borrowability of such categories as conjunctions and adverbial particles not as a result of their structural autonomy, but in functional-communicative terms.

2.3 The Romanian–English contact situation

So far, we have reviewed the main linguistic, social, psychological, and pragmatic determinants of borrowing. These determinants constitute more or less universal factors which can promote but also constrain the borrowing process, as it can be argued that any circumstances leading to the adoption of a foreign element will, at the same time, block the adoption of other features. This section tries to briefly outline the Romanian-English contact situation, by establishing the general social, cultural, and economic context within which it takes place.

The impact of English on Romanian can be discussed within the larger context of English in Europe and its contact with various other languages across the continent. In the Introduction to *English in Europe*, Görlach (2004) sets a historical framework for the analysis of Anglicisms in different European languages, by establishing the broad coordinates within which English has interacted with these languages. Thus, he identifies two main waves of intensive influences from English: one after 1945, which is better documented and recorded in monographs and dictionaries of Anglicisms, and a second one, starting with 1990 and the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, which is still in process, its study being therefore "impressionistic and provisional" (2004: 3).

The most important moments in the history of Romanian–English contact, together with the socio-cultural circumstances surrounding it, are reviewed in Constantinescu et al. (2004: 168- 175). According to these authors, works documenting early influences of

English on Romanian and the cultural background of this contact belong to Bujeniță (1966, mainly with reference to the maritime terminology), Trofin (1967), and Mociorniță (1980, 1983, 1992). Mociorniță surveys the most important Anglo–Romanian cultural contacts prior to the introduction of English studies in Romania, and reveals evidence of cultural and economic relations between Britain and Romania as early as the sixteenth century.

However, Constantinescu et al. (2004) believe that the major wave of English borrowings in Romanian (still mediated by French) began in the second half of the 19th century and coincided with the intensification of economic and cultural contacts between the two countries, being encouraged by Romania's industrial and economic development on West European models, many of them of British origin. Thus, English technological methods, and with them English terminologies became known and were adopted by Romanian specialists in oil drilling, mining, finance, steel production, shipbuilding, weaving, etc. To these economic elements, military and political circumstances were added–Romania's joining the Triple Entente countries in 1916, or the fact that Queen Maria, the wife of Ferdinand I, king of Romania from 1914 to 1927, was a grandchild of Queen Victoria, born in England. Besides this intensification of cultural and economic contacts, a minor source of influence is reported to have been the emigration of many Romanians from Transylvania and Banat to America between 1880 and the first World War, some of whom returned to their native villages.

The second half of the 20th century saw an intensification of the English influence on Romanian, in spite of political, economic, and cultural barriers existing between eastern and western Europe. Thus, while the 1950s are thought to have been the years "most intensely marked by xenophobia" (2004: 170), more and more English words entered technical terminologies and the standard language in the 1970s, when Romania "began to assume an air of independence",

with Russian models being increasingly rejected. This period was marked by an inflow of translations of scientific and literary writings, a phenomenon which is interpreted as a form of opposition to communism:

> In the second half of the twentieth century, the influence of English grew steadily in spite of the purist attitude which was favoured for political reasons. One may interpret the interest in Anglo-American culture and civilization as a spontaneous form of opposition to communist indoctrination. (Constantinescu et al., 2004: 169)

Finally, the contemporary period (the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century) is characterized by what is usually referred to as "an unprecedented English influence", which manifests itself directly, that is without the mediation of other languages, mainly through second language teaching and the mass media, being supported by extra-linguistic factors such as fashion and prestige (Constantinescu et al., 2004: 171). This situation has led to a shift in attitudes towards English, some writers in the public discourse–the written but also audio press–decrying this influence as an 'invasion' of Anglicisms and an 'Anglicization' of the language.

In this new context, the discourse about Anglicisms is based on several negative metaphors, the occurrence of English elements in Romanian being most often described as an invasion and a threat to Romanian, but also as an indecency, something low and degrading that should trigger reactions of repulsion and rejection. In this category are purist voices belonging to Romanian writers such as Geo Dumitrescu, Octavian Paler, and Eugen Simion among others. For example, Octavian Paler ironically remarks:

> Ajunşi la porțile Europei, „miticii" tranziției nu se mai simt bine, se pare, în limba româna folosită de „miticii" lui Caragiale, care se duceau, ca nişte bieți provinciali, la „restaurant", la „birt", la „ospătărie", la „bodegă" sau la „local". Moda cere azi să mergem la „fast food". O firmă ca „La Popescu" e de negăsit în Bucureştiul anului

> 2006. Ea sună prea neaoş. În schimb, „romgleza", ca să folosesc o expresie propusă, se pare, de Eugen Simion, amestec de fandoseală şi snobism, e la mare cinste. (Paler, 2006)

With all this declarative rejection of the English influence, Romanian normative linguists never attempted to impose any statutory prohibition on Anglicisms, and "the English influence has developed largely free of any philologic bias and purist constraints" (Constantinescu et al., 2004: 171). In the introduction to DOOM 2005 Eugen Simion writes:

> Cât de necesară este, mai ales, această "romgleză" pe care o ascultăm - de cele mai multe ori amuzați, alteori iritați - la TV sau la Radio, vorbită cu precădere de Chirițele mediei de azi şi ale lumii politice?… Nu este totdeauna necesară, dar n-avem încotro, nu putem s-o interzicem. Şi, de altfel, nici nu avem cum. Trebuie să lăsăm ca un termen nou să-şi dovedească utilitatea sau să dispară pur si simplu. (2005: IX)

A different kind of attitude towards the borrowing of English words in Romanian is shown by linguists such as Mioara Avram, Theodor Hristea, and Rodica Zafiu, who manifest relative tolerance towards this phenomenon. They show that this influence is not different from other types of linguistic influence Romanian has undergone in history, and should therefore be regarded with more detachment and intellectual curiosity. These linguists are consequently preoccupied more with the analysis of the phenomenon in its linguistic aspects (e.g. the linguistic integration of English borrowings), and less with its ideological and attitudinal aspects. For example, Avram urges towards a scientific study of this phenomenon in all its complexity, drawing attention to the importance of "language cultivation/protection or linguistic ecology" by effective means, not by "prejudice and intolerance, by purism and discrimination" (our translation) (1997: 29).

The two factors discussed earlier in this chapter, need and prestige, are in our opinion the strongest predictors of borrowing from English into contemporary Romanian. In the context of the emergence and growth of English as a global language, many of the words that have been borrowed in the last two decades answer specific referential and communicative needs in various areas of the Romanian society, e.g. economy, politics, culture, entertainment, science and technology, and can therefore be described as cultural borrowings. These words have entered Romanian together with the concepts they designate, presenting the advantage of brevity and being motivated by their lack of synonyms in Romanian. This is particularly true in the economic field, where many new concepts are borrowed from the Anglo-Saxon theory and practice. On the other hand, the dominant place English holds in the avant-garde of scientific advancement, as well as in business and international relations, endows it with connotations of modernity, fashion, and prestige, which in turn promote the borrowing of words not motivated by need, the so called "luxury" or "unnecessary" loans.

At a macro-social level, these factors combine with a third one, namely increasing levels of Romanian–English bilingualism, especially among young speakers. This situation is the product of educational programmes placing a special emphasis on foreign language teaching, as well as of the specificity of the Romanian society after 1989 (Stoichitoiu-Ichim, 2001). However, bilingualism in itself cannot be separated from the classical factors of need and prestige. After all, people learn a foreign language because they need it in order to engage in personal or professional communication with other people, because they want to identify with the culture of this language, or for both of these reasons.

At an individual level, borrowing can be seen as a result of the role English has gained recently in many areas of activity. Business and economic topics are frequently discussed in English, and those

working in this field need to have a very good command of this language. The large number of borrowings and code-switches in the journalistic corpus on which the present book is based should probably be seen as resulting from this situation: journalists are particularly exposed to English as an medium of global communication, many of the topics they report on being discussed in English too. According to various psycholinguistic approaches to borrowing, the frequency with which a bilingual uses his two languages is a very important predictor of transfer, overriding other factors such as degree of bilingualism and proficiency in the source language (Beardsmore, 1982; Mougeon and Beniak, 1991). Thus, a word may be introduced almost unconsciously into a bilingual's speech if he/she uses the source language frequently enough.

To conclude the discussion on the Romanian–English contact situation, the main factors promoting transfers between the two languages are the need for new words to designate novel concepts, the relative prestige English is endowed with as representing a powerful culture and civilization, and an increasing intensity of contact between the two languages, translated as growing levels of bilingualism among Romanian speakers. The extent to which these factors can effect significant changes in the recipient language is limited to the type of contact under analysis (i.e. distant contact) and the interplay of various structural, social, pragmatic, and psychological factors that govern the borrowing process in general.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH

3.1 The corpus and data elicitation[1]

The second part of the book consists of the quantitative and qualitative analysis of Anglicisms in a corpus of business and financial journalistic prose. The source of the corpus was the business magazine *Capital* on CD-Rom, consisting of Adobe PDF files. This raw data underwent a series of processing procedures, i.e. Optical Character Recognition, sentence splitting, tokenization, and part-of-speech tagging and lemmatization[2]. The texts thus obtained, amounting to 20,262,068 tokens, allow an efficient way of retrieving and processing Anglicisms. Customized software tools designed specifically for this project were used to tap the source of *Capital* 1998-2005.

The first stage of the data elicitation process was the generation of decontextualized word lists showing all the individual word types in the corpus. According to the definition given to the term Anglicism in section 1.4, a number of 4,495 word types and 63,175 word tokens were elicited from a corpus of 78,068 types (*Capital* 2005). The list resulting by subtracting the Anglicisms from the total was later used as a Stoplist blocking the occurrence of the component words from appearing in subsequent lists for the other

[1] The data elicitation process is partly based on the method used by Onysko (2007: 105-112) in his corpus analysis of Anglicisms in German.

[2] All these processing tasks were performed by Eckhard Bick (researcher) and Tino Didriksen (student assistant), from the Institute for Language and Communication (ISK) at the University of Southern Denmark. The tagging was done using the MSD tagger developed by the Research Institute for Artificial Intelligence of The Romanian Academy, under Professor Dan Tufiş' supervision. The POS-tagged corpus is available at http://corp.hum.sdu.dk/cqp.ro.html.

years. The same data elicitation procedure was repeated for the seven years 1998–2004. The following table shows the results of this first stage of data elicitation.

Year	Types (Angl.)	Tokens (Angl.)	Total no. types	Total no. tokens
1998	2,220	30,738	73,610	2,035,220
1999	2,338	38,021	77,108	2,442,619
2000	2,310	42,449	71,925	2,342,260
2001	2,673	49,380	72,548	2,371,601
2002	2,917	54,941	77,104	2,653,352
2003	3,648	51,363	76,549	2,635,769
2004	3,755	55,739	78,066	2,889,367
2005	4,495	63,175	78,068	2,891,880
Total	8,148	385,806	209,647	20,262,068

Table 3.1 Number of Anglicisms in *Capital* 1998-2005 (unfiltered frequencies)

Deciding whether a given word was an Anglicism or not was problematic at this stage due to the existence of homographs in English and Romanian (e.g. E. *deal* and R. *deal* 'hill', E. *sale* and R. *sale* as a pronoun, E. *fast* and R. *fast* 'pomp', to name just a few), the elimination of the Romanian words being possible only based on contextual cues.

Another category of English words which did not constitute the object of analysis in this study were proper nouns (i.e. names of products, international institutions, original English works, etc.). Their relatively high frequency in the studied corpus testifies to a growing intensity of contact between English and Romanian, and confirms Backus's (1996) proposal that in a language contact situation the most easily borrowed elements are those high on the Specificity Continuum, most notably proper nouns. Even if the analysis of these words can be of interest from the perspective of their syntactic insertion into the structure of Romanian, such an analysis is outside the scope of the present study.

A large number of proper nouns in the *Capital* 2005 corpus are names of products. As such, they are sometimes grammaticalized as common nouns, a situation which brings about the difficulty of drawing the line between the two classes of words. Examples in this respect include *Bluetooth, Walkman, ePayment, Explorer, iBook*:

(1) Când îți cumperi un telefon te interesează să aibă BLUETOOTH?
'When you buy a phone, are you interested in Bluetooth, too?'

(2) ..., EPAYMENT este cel puțin la fel de important ca şi RAV.
'..., ePayment is at least as important as RAV.'

(3) Adevărata surpriză a venit din partea EXPLORER-ului de la Mozilla.
'The true surprise came from Mozilla's Explorer. '

In addition to product names, the corpus also includes English names of international institutions, mainly built around words like *business, company, group, bank*, which show a very high frequency of occurrence in our data. For example *business* appears in over 450 names, *bank* is included in over 750, *consulting* in over 80, and *company* in over 20. When these words are used in sentences, they are referred to anaphorically or cataphorically by native synonyms:

(4) RG Holz COMPANY, *firma* care aproape deține monopolul exploatărilor forestiere din zonă, a contractat deja ....
'RG Holz Company, the firm which nearly holds the monopoly of forest exploitations in the area, has already contracted ... . '

(5) Se mai adresează aproximativ aceluiaşi segment, cu o prezență firavă, cooperativele de credit şi o singură *bancă*–ProCredit BANK.
'With a slight presence, credit cooperatives and only one bank—Pro Credit Bank—are targeted at the same segment. '

In spite of the high occurrences of these words inside proper nouns, they are not used independently very often. Thus, *bank* does not appear at all autonomously, *company* has no occurrence outside name phrases, while *market* appears in 15 instances as part of a name, but only twice as a common noun. On the other hand, the

occurrences of *holding* as a common noun match its occurrences in proper nouns (over 100). This can be explained as a result of this word's longer existence in Romanian (DEX 1975), although we can assume it has gained more currency after 1989. A similar example is *City*, used both as a proper and as a common noun:

> (6) Un recent raport la diviziei de statistică al Comisiei Europene arată că city-ul londonez este cea mai bogată regiune (…) Londra are 7,1 milioane de locuitori, din care 1,9 sunt pensionari. 43% din ei trăiesc în City şi peste jumătate dintre aceştia trăiesc în sărăcie.
> 'A recent report of the European Commission's statistics division shows that the city of London is the richest region (...). London has 7.1 million inhabitants, 1.9 of them being senior citizens. 43% of them live in the City, and more than half of these people live in poverty. '

After proper nouns and bilingual homographs were eliminated from the initial inventory of potential Anglicisms, it was possible to establish the actual token frequency for each Anglicism in the corpus. For example, the unfiltered token frequency of *business* in *Capital* 2005 is 413, while the word is used as an Anglicism, i.e. outside proper nouns, in only 321 instances. The same discrepancy between filtered and unfiltered token frequencies was found with words like *advertising*, *broker*, and *consultancy*.

Once this filtering process had been completed, it was possible to gain a more realistic image of the total number of Anglicisms (individual English words before compounds and phrases were separated) in *Capital* 1998-2005. The table below presents the results of this stage of analysis, indicating the numerical development of English borrowings in the corpus over the studied period.

Year	Types	Tokens
1998	1,160	14,152
1999	1,439	20,082
2000	1,351	21,016
2001	1,656	26,553
2002	1,705	28,706
2003	1,819	23,364
2004	1,851	25,406
2005	2,135	27,928
Total	4,822	187,207

Table 3.2 Number of Anglicisms in *Capital* 1998-2005 (filtered frequencies)

The figures above show that the number of Anglicisms rose steadily from 1998 to 2005. This situation might suggest the idea that during this period of time the Romanian vocabulary was enriched through the creation of synonyms to already existing words, or simply through the introduction of new words to designate novel concepts. Alternatively, this rise in English borrowings may have involved a gradual displacement of native words. In order to understand how this increasing number of Anglicisms is affecting the Romanian vocabulary, we have calculated an indicator called Standardized Type Token Ratio (STTR[3]) for the whole studied corpus. This indicator is a mean of the number of word types in chunks of 1,000 tokens of running text, and it constitutes an empirical method for measuring lexical diversity in a given text. Thus, it was hoped that its calculation for the eight-year corpus would reveal any significant changes in vocabulary diversity over this period of time. For a higher accuracy of the results, the STTR was calculated for three different chunk dimensions: 1,000, 10,000 and 100,000 tokens. The results are given below:

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[3] This method is implemented in the WordSmith software tools for lexical analysis developed by Mike Scott and published by Oxford University Press, available online at http://www.lexically.net.

Year	No types	No tokens	STTR 1,000	STTR 10,000	STTR 100,000
All	209,647	20,262,068	-	-	-
1998	73,610	2,035,220	50.27 %	31.76 %	15.04 %
1999	77,108	2,442,619	50.22 %	31.52 %	14.88 %
2000	71,925	2,342,260	49.30 %	30.81 %	14.40 %
2001	72,548	2,371,601	49.10 %	30.61 %	14.26 %
2002	77,104	2,653,352	48.77 %	30.04 %	14.10 %
2003	76,549	2,635,769	49.08 %	30.18 %	14.28 %
2004	78,066	2,889,367	49.15 %	30.15 %	14.02 %
2005	78,068	2,891,880	49.21 %	29.92 %	13.97 %

Table 3.3 Standardized Type Token Ratio for *Capital* 1998-2005

According to the values of this indicator, it seems that the lexical diversity of *Capital* magazine slightly decreased in the studied period of time. Although this decrease may have resulted from factors not related to language contact, it may also suggest the idea that the rise in the number of Anglicisms over the eight years in question was accompanied by a proportional fall in the use of some native words. However, whether this fall can be directly and solely linked to the borrowing phenomenon, or results from language internal mechanisms as well, is a question that needs further investigation. Later in this chapter, the numerical development of individual borrowed words will be discussed in relation to their native counterparts, which is hoped to shed some light on this question.

Some of the words listed as separate types in the computer-generated wordlist are actually restricted in their occurrence to certain phrases and compounds representing direct importations from English. For example, English function words are never used independently in Romanian, although they are frequently used inside code-switches. Similarly, many content words are restricted to phrasal Anglicisms. For example, *country* appears for about 60 times in the expression *country manager* but is never used alone, while *head*

has over 60 occurrences in expressions like *head hunting, head of corporate affairs, head of office,* but not one individually. Due to the high number of these code-switched units, the separate counting of the individual words entering them would have considerably distorted the results of the final quantitative and qualitative analysis. Moreover, at this stage of the research we hypothesize that borrowings and code-switches behave differently from a morphosyntactic point of view and should therefore be studied separately. This is why the final stage of the filtering process was the identification of phrasal constructions and compounds. The results of this stage are presented in Figure 3.1 below, which shows the trend in borrowings (one-word Anglicisms and compounds) and code-switches (two- and multi-word Anglicisms) over the 1998-2005 period[4].

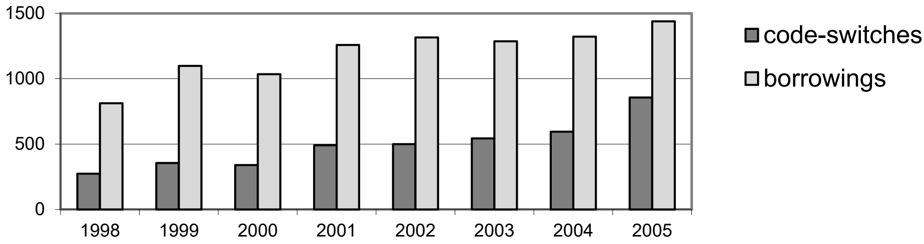


Figure 3.1 Borrowings and code-switches in *Capital* 1998-2005 (types)

This chart shows an overall rise both in borrowings and in code-switches between 1998 and 2005. However, the two classes did not grow at equal rates, phrasal Anglicisms recording a more significant increase than borrowings. A more detailed analysis of simple and

[4] In this book we regard as a phrase any combination of two or more words that are not fused or hyphenated, and as a compound any combination of fused or hyphenated words. If two or more words occur as one orthographic unit, they are considered compounds in all their occurrences, including those in which they are written separately.

phrasal Anglicisms will be conducted contrastively for the years 1998 and 2005 in the following section.

3.2 Quantitative analysis of Anglicisms in the corpus

The 1998 corpus contains a total of 1,160 Anglicism types (1.57 % of all types), occurring in 14,152 instances (0.69 % of all tokens in the corpus), while the 2005 corpus contains 2,135 Anglicism types (2.73% of all types), occurring in 27,928 instances (0.96% of all tokens). The quantitative impact of Anglicisms in the two years of the studied corpus is presented in Table 3.4 below. This table shows all English words in the two sections of the corpus, whether singly-occurring or used as part of a phrase.

	1998		**2005**	
	Types	**Tokens**	**Types**	**Tokens**
Total no. of words	73,610	2,035,220	78,067	2,891,880
Total no. of Anglicisms	1,160	14,152	2,135	27,928
Percentage of Anglicisms/ total no. of words	1.57	0.69	2.73	0.96

Table 3.4 Number of individual Anglicisms in *Capital* 1998 and *Capital* 2005

The table above reveals a difference between the numerical proportion Anglicisms hold in the total in terms of types and their representation as far as tokens are concerned, in both years under consideration. This discrepancy indicates a low repetition rate, which is due to the new, socially unadapted character of many of these words in Romanian, but also to the fact that most of the borrowed elements are content words. In a study of Anglicisms in German, Onysko (2007: 114) finds a similar situation and explains it

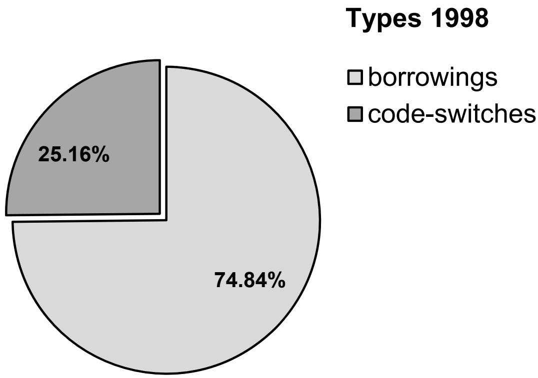
as being a consequence of the types of borrowings in his corpus. More exactly, since content words have a lower frequency of occurrence than function words, and since function words are not borrowed at all outside their code-switching environment, the average frequency of occurrence for borrowed words is relatively low. We believe we can use the same argument to explain the low representation of Anglicism tokens as compared to Anglicism types in our corpus.

A more accurate image of the quantitative impact of Anglicisms in the two years under consideration can be obtained by detailing the figures in Table 3.4 so as to present the separate classes of simple and phrasal Anglicisms. The table below presents the distribution of Anglicisms according to length and structural complexity.

	Simple Anglicisms (borrowings)		**Phrsasal Anglicisms (code-switches)**	
	Types	**Tokens**	**Types**	**Tokens**
1998	812	11,863	273	648
2005	1,442	20,534	860	2,497

Table 3.5 Anglicisms in *Capital* 1998 and *Capital* 2005 by structural type

The figures above show a significantly higher number of code-switches in 2005 as compared to 1998, in terms both of individual types and of word tokens. However, this increase should be interpreted with caution, as the 2005 corpus is considerably larger (by about 40%) than the 1998 one. In order to eliminate the statistical distortions resulting from this mismatch, we have calculated the representation of borrowings and code-switches as percentages of the total number of Anglicisms in the corpus. The results of this analysis are presented in the pie-charts below.



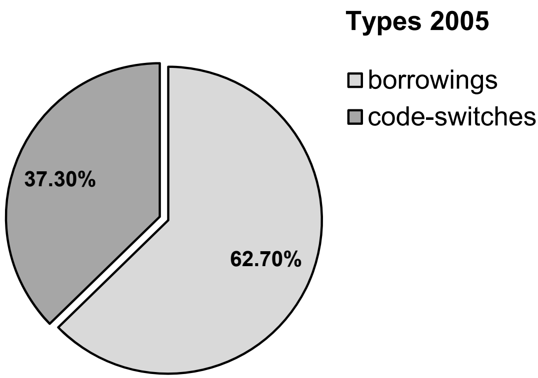


Figure 3.2 Distribution of Anglicisms according to form in *Capital* 1998 and *Capital* 2005 (types)

The number of code-switched elements increased by almost 50 per cent in eight years, from 25.16 per cent of the total in 1998 to 37.30 per cent in 2005. We believe that this increase allows us to speak of an ongoing change in Romanian–English mixing patterns. The specialized literature generally recognizes a correlation between speakers' level of proficiency in the source language and longer,

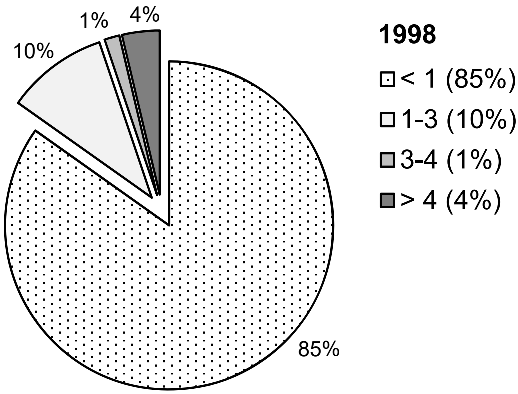
more complex elements being transferred from this language. Myers-Scotton summarizes this correlation as follows:

> When the overall prevailing pattern includes many bilingual CPs (with many mixed constituents), singly occurring forms (typically nouns) prevail. If speakers employ relatively many Embedded Language islands, they seem to be among the more proficient speakers. That is, it seems that higher language proficiency in the Embedded Language is necessary to feel at home producing islands. (Myers-Scotton, 2002: 148)

CPs (projections of complementizer) are formalized expressions of constituents in bilingual speech, while EL islands broadly coincide with the acceptation code-switches have been given in the present study. Myers-Scotton illustrates the proposal of proficiency–length of constituent correlation with quantitative evidence from the speech of two groups in an urban township of multilingual Black South Africans. Thus, the more educated and presumably more English-proficient speakers of this community produced twice as many Embedded Language islands when compared to the less educated group, who used a much higher number of single foreign lexemes in their speech.

However, multi-word code-switched elements of this type are not the expression of maximal proficiency in the source language, representing an intermediary stage between single-word insertions and inter-sentential switching (i.e. switching between sentences). This idea was put forth and tested by Backus (1996) in a study of different generations of Turkish immigrants to the Netherlands, who adhered to one or the other of the three patterns of mixing (single words, EL islands, and EL sentences), according to the level of bilingualism they had reached. We believe that the increase in Romanian–English code-switching as evident from Figure 3.2 above indicates an increasing level of English proficiency among Romanian speakers, a situation which could trigger further changes in the mixing patterns between the two languages.

The frequencies of code-switched elements in 1998 and 2005 were standardized for one million words in order to allow for comparisons between the two parts of the corpus. Figure 3.3 below shows relative stability in the occurrence of phrasal Anglicisms, the number of English phrases which appear only once going down from 85 per cent in 1998 to 78 per cent in 2005, while the number of phrases with two or three occurrences increased from 10 per cent to 16 per cent. On the other hand, the number of code-switches used for more than 4 times remained low at around 4 per cent in both years studied.



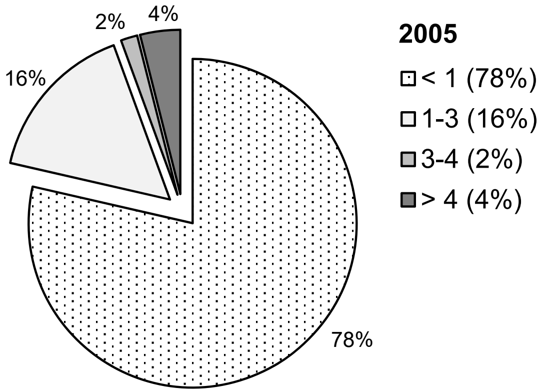


Figure 3.3 Distribution of phrasal Anglicisms according to token frequency in *Capital* 1998 and *Capital* 2005

Another quantitatively investigated aspect of code-switches was their internal complexity, more exactly the number of words used to form them. The contrastive analysis of the 1998 and 2005 corpus sections shows that more than half of all phrasal Anglicisms are two-word phrases, while the rest are made up of three or more words. Phrasal Anglicisms made up of three or more elements increased slightly by 6 per cent between 1998 and 2005. We believe that this increase can be correlated with the general upward trend in the occurrence of code-switches (Figure 3.2), being the result of the same set of factors, most notably increased level of bilingualism among the writers of the magazine. Figure 3.4 below shows the results of this analysis.

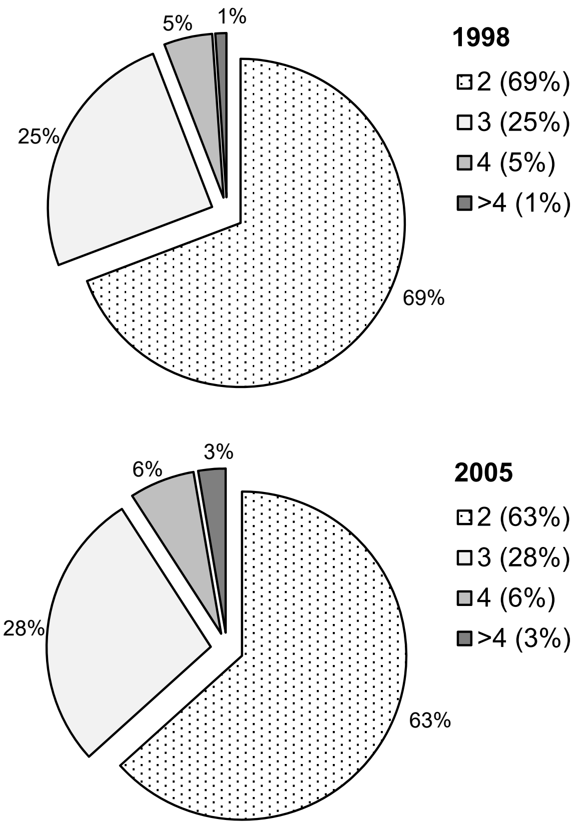


Figure 3.4 Distribution of phrasal Anglicisms according to length in *Capital* 1998 and *Capital* 2005

A final aspect of the quantitative analysis of phrasal Anglicisms was the identification of the most frequently used phrases in *Capital* 2005. The 100 most often used code-switches in 2005 can be found in Appendix 1, while the numerical development of some code-switches between 1998 and 2005 is given in Appendixes 2a and 2b. A more detailed analysis of code-switches in *Capital* 2005 will follow in Chapter 6.

Turning now to borrowings, we find that these elements account for almost 75 per cent of all English material in 1998 and for only 62 per cent in 2005. When calculating their frequency of occurrence, we preferred to use lemmas as many borrowings are highly inflected, a situation which would have considerably distorted the statistics. The results of this lemma-based distribution of simple Anglicisms across frequency ranges is presented in Figure 3.5 below (standardized for one million words).

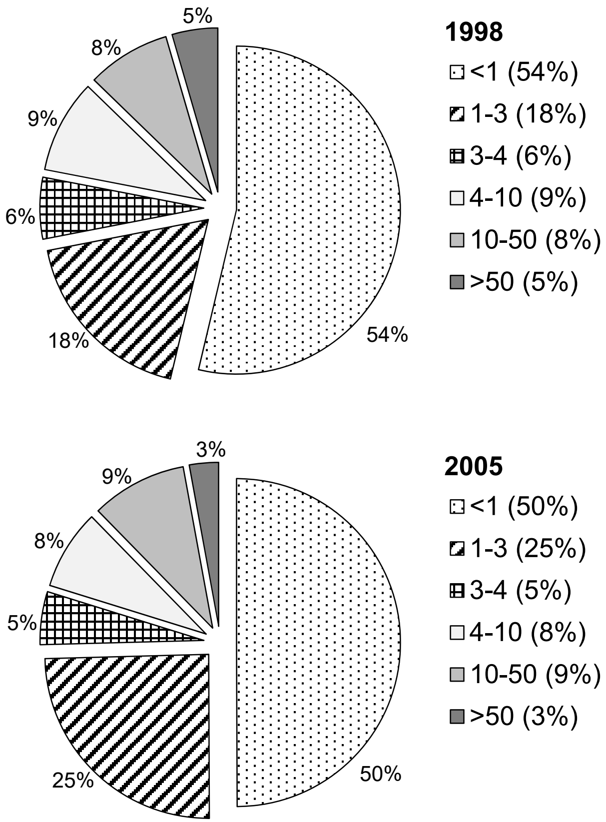


Figure 3.5 Distribution of simple Anglicisms according to token frequency in *Capital* 1998 and *Capital* 2005

The contrastive analysis of simple Anglicisms for the years 1998 and 2005 indicates a very slight decrease in the number of words used only once. However, the overall picture is one of relative stability, a situation which shows that, as far as one-word borrowings are concerned, the mechanisms used by Romanian to adopt new words are not undergoing any significant changes. In a way, this stability comes in contradiction with the other statistical findings presented in this chapter (the growing number of phrases relative to simple borrowings, the increasing structural complexity of these phrases), which seem to indicate an increasing level of English proficiency among the writers of the magazine. Increased bilingualism is generally correlated in the specialized literature with the frequent use of nonce borrowings (low-frequency borrowings) (Poplack et al., 1988), a situation which could lead one to expect a higher number of such words in more recent years of the magazine.

The relatively unchanged frequency patterns of borrowings in the present study could show that many of the English words in the corpus are cultural borrowings, their necessary character in the language making them repeatable and therefore stable. Thus, we tentatively hypothesize that the ratio of necessary/unnecessary loans did not change significantly in the studied period, although other aspects of the contact between English and Romanian saw more important changes. If true, this situation would once again confirm the idea that the core vocabulary is highly resistant to change, a language allowing the entrance of foreign phrases of considerable length and complexity before it permits incursions into its basic vocabulary.

This proposal is supported by the unsystematic observation of the borrowings occurring only once in *Capital* 2005. Thus, although some of these low-frequency words designate new concepts and can therefore be described as cultural loans (*e-government, e-publishing, e-business, inbox, paintball, roadshow, sampling, spam)*, most of them

double already existing Romanian words, being unnecessary from a strictly referential point of view. Such borrowings include *advice, consultation, default*, *engineering, exit-poll, fun, invoice, investor, layout, outstanding, package, prepay, producer, publishing, purchasing, request, reward, song, spicy, trainee, worldwide*, to give just a few examples. However, the hypothesis presented above remains tentative in the absence of a more extensive and detailed analysis of both low- and high-frequency borrowings in the corpus.

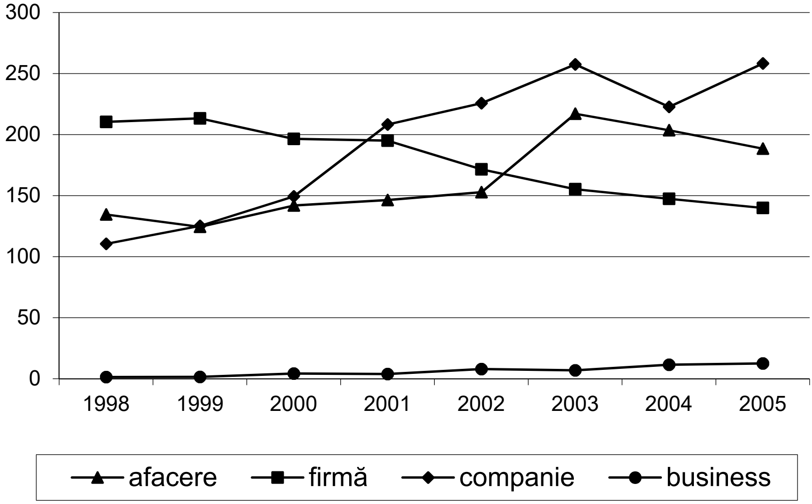
From a quantitative point of view, it is important to see which Anglicisms are most widely distributed in the corpus and therefore display better chances of being adopted in the language, or in the speech of monolinguals. This is why we have drawn up a list of the 100 most frequently used simple Anglicisms in *Capital* 2005. The list is given in Appendix 3.

The words *marketing, management,* and *manager* are adoptions of a less recent date than other borrowings in the corpus, being recorded by DEX 1975. We have chosen to include them in the present study as we believe they have gained currency after 1989, even if they existed in the language before that date. However, most of the other words showing a very high frequency of occurrence (i.e. over 100 tokens) are used to designate concepts, objects, activities, and events that are relatively new to the Romanian culture.

In order to obtain a more faithful image on the situation of English borrowings in Romanian, we have compiled a list containing all these words in the eight-year corpus (partly given in Appendix 4). This list shows the absolute number of occurrences for borrowings (Appendix 4a), together with their relative frequency of occurrence calculated for 100,000 word tokens (Appendix 4b). The resulting data can be used to assess the evolution of individual lexical items over the studied period of time, allowing for conclusions regarding the fate of recent English borrowings in Romanian.

Several distinct situations can be abstracted from this list. First, there is a category of older borrowings which did not see dramatic changes between 1998 and 2005. This category includes words like *management, manager,* and *marketing*. Another category is constituted by those Anglicisms which registered a significant increase, some of them growing in frequency by more than ten times in eight years. Such cases of borrowings are going to be analysed in relation to their native equivalents, as it can be expected that the latter have been somehow affected by the abrupt entry of these high-frequency English words.

An example in this respect is *business,* a word which increased in frequency by more than eleven times, from 27 occurrences in 1998 to 321 in 2005 (Figure 3.6b). However, its effect on the Romanian *afacere, companie,* and *firmă* is marginal and difficult to determine with any certainty, the representation of *business* in the corpus being relatively reduced when compared to that of its native equivalents (Figure 3.6a). Thus, although on a clearly upward trend, this Anglicism is far from approaching the token frequencies of its Romanian counterparts, some of which also increased in use during the studied period. Actually, we believe that the decline in the occurrence of *firmă*, for example, can be explained as a result of the corresponding rise in *companie* and *afacere*, rather than deriving from the increasing usage of *business*. This example shows that the increasing frequency of a borrowed word does not always have a significant impact on other words in the recipient language.



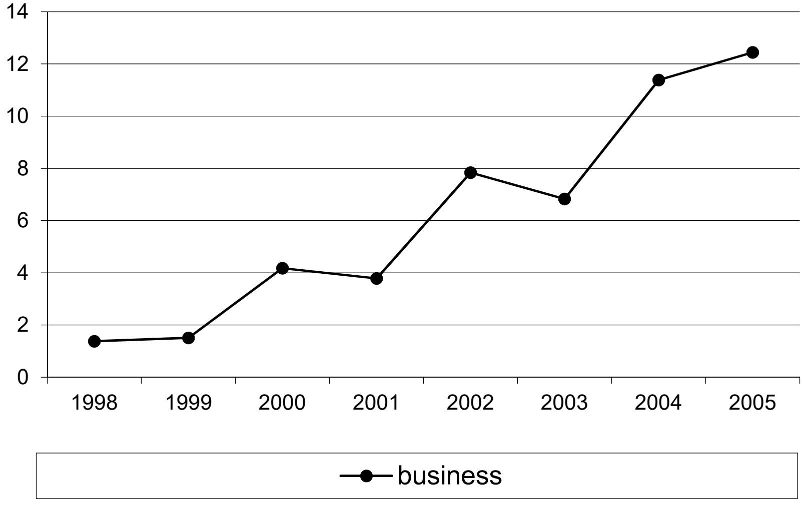


Figure 3.6 (a,b) Token frequencies of "afacere", "companie", "firmă", "business" in *Capital* 1998-2005

However, in other cases a borrowed word can impact directly on the occurrence of its native equivalents. For example, Figure 3.7 below shows that the increase in the frequency of *brand* in *Capital* 1998-2005 was paralleled by a proportional fall in the frequency of *marcă*. Based on this data, it can be predicted that *brand* will reach the token frequency of *marcă*, or will even overtake it in absolute terms.

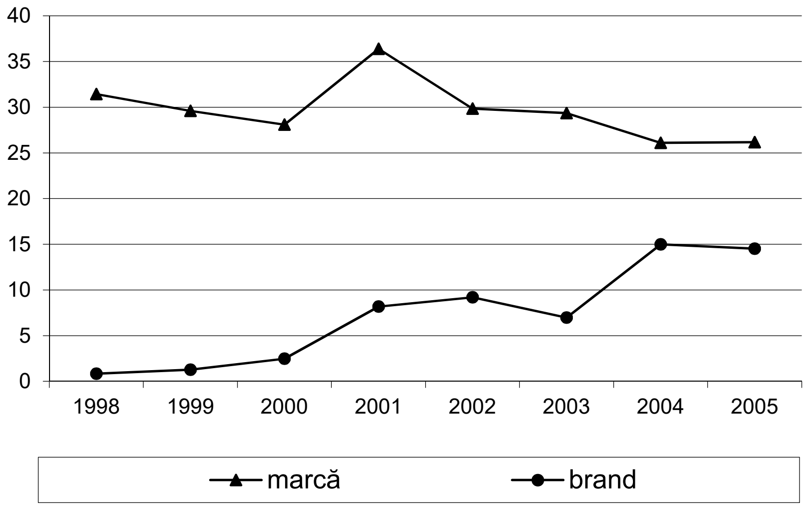


Figure 3.7 Token frequencies of "marcă" and "brand" in *Capital* 1998-2005

An even more illustrative example of the way in which a borrowing can almost displace a native word is provided by *retail*. In 1998, this Anglicism was not used at all in the studied corpus, while *cu amănuntul* appeared for 76 times and *en-detail* for 7 times. All three words saw a dramatic increase in 2000, probably as a result of the entrance and development of large supermarket chains in Romania. However, in the following years *retail* and *retailer* clearly strengthened their positions in front of their native synonyms, as evident from figures 3.8 and 3.9 below.

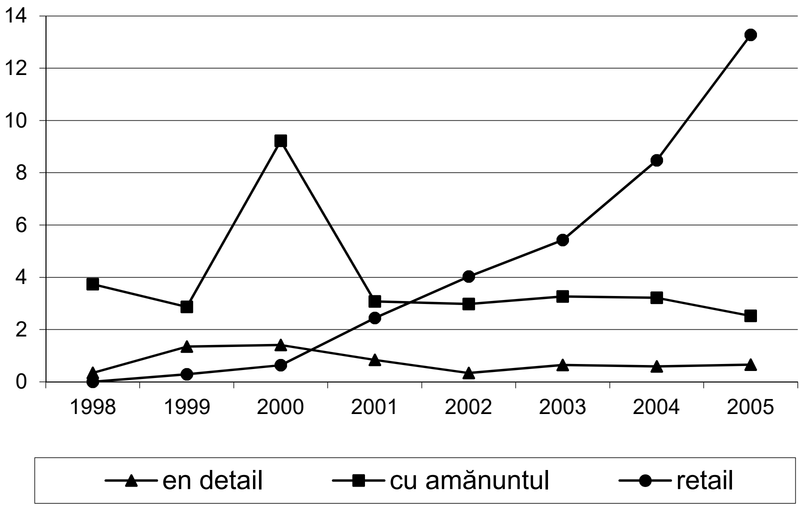


Figure 3.8 Token frequencies of "en detail", "cu amănuntul", "retail" in *Capital* 1998-2005

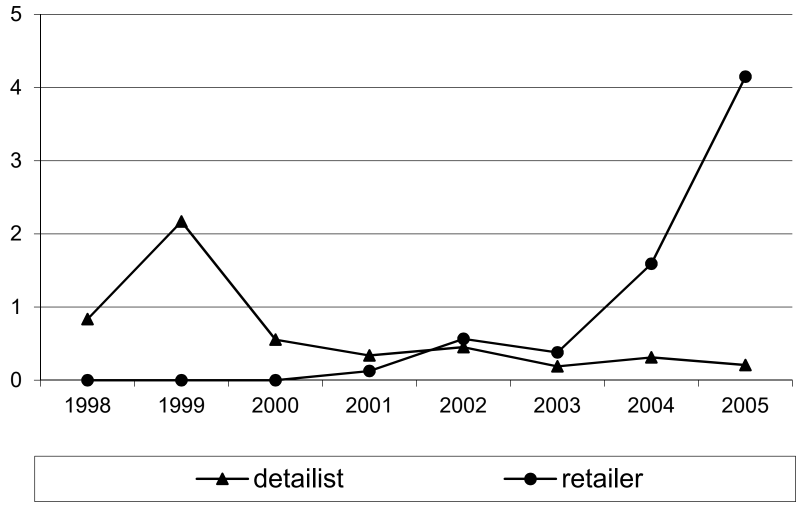


Figure 3.9 Token frequencies of " detailist", "retailer" in *Capital* 1998-2005

To conclude our discussion on the quantitative impact of Anglicisms in the corpus of *Capital* 1998-2005, this chapter has shown that present-day Romanian is faced with a distinctly upward trend in the borrowing of English words and phrases. This general increase is accompanied by a shift from borrowing to code-switching, or from one-word to phrasal transfers. While the overall distribution of simple Anglicisms is relatively stable, several individual words recorded a dramatic increase in the studied period, sometimes causing changes in the frequency patterns of native words. Cases such as these seem to confirm the structuralist belief that any change in the system of a language will trigger the reorganization of patterns elsewhere in this system. Thus, we agree with Weinreich (1968: 1), who draws attention to the fact that, even in cases of lexical borrowing or when structural elements are not involved at all, "it would be an oversimplification" to refer to the borrowed words as "mere additions to an inventory."

CHAPTER IV: TYPES OF BORROWED ELEMENTS

The previous chapter analysed some quantitative aspects of recent Anglicisms in the corpus of *Capital* 1998-2005. Chapter 4 continues with the analysis of the distribution of borrowings across the main word classes and formation processes of Romanian, the scope of study being limited to the year 2005. The main focus of analysis will be constituted by mechanisms of derivation and compounding, although more peripheral types of word formation such as blending, clipping, and abbreviation will also be investigated. It is hoped that these separate levels of analysis will offer some valuable insights into the proportions held by different types of English-origin elements in contemporary Romanian.

4.1 Word classes

All borrowings in *Capital* 2005 (1,442 types and 20,534 tokens) had to be individually hand-tagged, as the automatic POS tagging did not yield correct results for very recent, dictionary-not-listed words. This process posed several problems, which could have altered the statistics regarding the representation of various word classes in the total of borrowings. One such problem was finding a principled way to distinguish between various word classes (e.g. nouns and adjectives, adjectives and participles), especially when dealing with borderline cases. The difficulty inherent in making such classifications has been frequently noted in the Romanian literature on borrowing (Ciobanu, 2004; Stoichitoiu-Ichim, 2001). For example, Stoichițoiu-Ichim notes that

> Avalanşa de împrumuturi din engleză poate avea drept consecință o "subminare" a caracterului flexionar al limbii române prin (1) creşterea

> numărului de adjective invariabile şi (2) ştergerea granițelor dintre părțile de vorbire. (Stoichitoiu-Ichim, 2001:101)

This fuzziness surrounding word class boundaries inevitably leads to classifications in terms of more-or-less rather than either-or-not when dealing with borrowings.

Noun–adjective separation is complicated by the fact that, in Romanian, modifiers of noun heads are canonically represented by other nouns in the genitive case, by prepositional phrases, or by adjectives, juxtaposed noun + noun constructions of the type 'doamna dirigintă', 'bloc-turn', 'câine-lup' being rather peripheral in the language. In this context, it was difficult to decide whether uninflected borrowed words headed by Romanian nouns were to be analysed as nouns on this model or as adjectives, as the grammatical rules of Romanian would prototypically require.

In this study, dictionary conventions were followed in order to separate adjectives from nouns, i.e. if a word was listed as an adjective in the Merriam Webster Dictionary and used as a modifier in Romanian, it was tagged as being an adjective. This rule led to the inclusion in the adjective class of words such as *desktop, offshore, follow-up, retail*:

(1) … aceasta este încă departe de a fi o soluție DESKTOP viabilă …
'... this is still far from being a viable desktop solution ...'

(2) Exercițiile FOLLOW-UP ar trebui să includă evaluarea eficacității programului propriu-zis.
'Follow-up exercises should include an evaluation of actual program effectiveness. '

(3) … care analizează cele mai favorabile locații pentru investițiile OFFSHORE …
'... which analyses the most favourable locations for offshore investments ... '

(4) Utilizat preponderant în segmentul de distribuție RETAIL, sistemul de franciză …
'Mainly used in the retail distribution segment, the franchise system ... '

On the other hand, many borrowings used attributively inside hybrid noun phrases were tagged as nouns on the basis of their dictionary description. Examples of such words include *cash, billboard, deal,* and *business*:

(5) … au fost raportate tranzacții pe piața DEAL cu acțiuni SNF în valoare totală de peste 28,6 miliarde lei.
'... sales of SNF shares worth over 28.6 billion lei have been reported on the deal market. '

(6) … în marea majoritate a societăților, nu s-au facut investiții CASH.
'... in most companies, no cash investments were made. '

(7) Pentru clienții BUSINESS, 3G va însemna (…) aplicații BUSINESS, precum informatizarea forței de vânzări …
'For business customers, 3G will mean (...) business applications, such as the computerization of the sales force ... '

(8) Astfel, compania are în portofoliu, (…), 48% din cele 7.650 de panouri BILLBOARD de pe piață, …
'Thus, the company has in its portfolio, (...), 48% of the 7,650 billboards on the market, ... '

The distinction between borrowed past participles used as verbs and those used as adjectives was made according to the types of constituents in which they were inserted. Thus, the verbal meaning of the participle is preserved when this takes part in a passive construction, as in (9) below, or when it is followed by a circumstance adverbial, as in (10):

(9) Firefox a fost DOWNLOADAT de peste 44 de milioane de ori şi a atins peste 5% din piața browserelor.
'Firefox has been downloaded over 44 million times and has reached over 5% of the browser market. '

(10) Orange şi-a început activitatea în Romania în anul 1996, sub numele de MobilRom, firma fiind REBRANDATĂ în Orange în aprilie 2002.
'Orange started its activity in Romania in 1996 as MobilRom, the company being rebranded as Orange in April 2002. '

On the other hand, past participles were tagged as adjectives in all the other cases, especially when they occupied attributive positions or occurred with other adjectives. Thus, in the following sentence *rebrandată* is taken to be an adjective because it is used as a modifier for the noun *versiune,* but also due to its parallelism with the native *nouă*:

(11) Japonezii sărbatoresc Showa Day, o versiune nouă, REBRANDATĂ a Greenery Day.
'The Japanese celebrate Showa Day, a new, rebranded version of Greenery Day. '

When the tagging of all simple Anglicisms was completed, it was possible to draw some conclusions regarding their distribution across the word classes of Romanian. The results of this analysis show a striking preference for nouns, followed by adjectives and a very low number of verbs. Adverbs are poorly represented, barely reaching 1 percent of the total, while interjections are limited to only one type. In detail, Table 4.1 below presents the word-class distribution of recent English borrowings in *Capital* 2005.

Categories	**Tokens**		**Types**		**Frequency (token/type)**
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	
Nouns	19,036	92.71	1,296	89.88	14.68
Adjectives	1,167	5.68	131	9.08	8.90
Verbs	264	1.29	46	3.19	5.73
Adverbs	67	0.32	16	1.11	4.18
Total	20,534	100	1,489	103	

Table 4.1 Distribution of simple Anglicisms according to word class in *Capital* 2005

It can be noted from the table above that types add to more than one hundred percent, i.e. 103%, which means that a number of words have been borrowed as belonging to more than one grammatical class. Thus, sometimes a word is borrowed both as a noun and as an adjective:

> (12) Delegația FMI va continua şi în această săptămână discuțiile cu autoritățile române în vederea încheierii unui acord STAND-BY. (adjective)
> 'This week the IMF mission will continue its talks with the Romanian government in order to close a standby agreement. '

> (13) Restul proiectelor rămân în STANDBY şi vor fi continuate când bugetul comunitar va permite. (noun)
> 'The other projects remain on standby and will be continued when the community budget allows it.'

Other times both the adjectival and the adverbial meanings of a word are borrowed. The following headline reads:

> (14) Comandă ONLINE, plată OFFLINE. (adjective)
> 'Online order, offline payment'

A few sentences later in the same article, the two words are used as adverbs:

> (15) Dacă majoritatea comenzilor se fac ONLINE, românii preferă să plătească OFFLINE.
> 'While most orders are placed online, Romanians prefer to pay offline.'

Full-time is used in a similar way, both as an adverb and as an adjective:

> (16) În acest moment ne bazăm pe şase oameni pe care i-am mutat FULLTIME la sediul de campanie. (adverb)
> 'Right now we are relying on six people whom we have moved fulltime to the head office.'

> (17) Practica constă într-un program de lucru PART-TIME sau FULL-TIME la un department din cadrul companiei. (adjective)
> 'The work placement consists in a part-time or full-time job in one of the company's departments.'

In other cases, both the nominal and the adverbial meanings of a word are used:

> (18) Pe de altă parte, un HIGH ca cel actual este şi un punct de rezistenţă… (noun)
> 'On the other hand, a high such as the current one is also a strength… '
>
> (19) În realizarea mixului optim de titluri pentru campanile targetate HIGH (…), formatul publicaţiei nu prezintă mare importanţă. (adverb)
> 'When designing the optimum security mix for campaigns targeted high (…), the format of the publication is not very important.'

Sometimes, a word may be borrowed as a noun, an adverb, and an interjection:

> (20) Dacă fostul primar îmi poate arăta semnătura unor astfel de specialişti este OK. (adverb)
> 'If the former mayor can show me the signature of such specialists, it is OK. '
>
> (21) Imediat după OK-ul guvernamental au început conferinţele regionale care ar fi trebuit să recruteze firmele din provincie. (noun)
> 'Right after the governmental OK, regional conferences started in order to recruit firms in the country. '
>
> (22) Toată lumea în departamentul de stat mi-a spus, OK, ai dreptate, … . (interjection)
> 'Everybody in the state department told me, OK, you are right …'

The statistical data presented in Table 4.1 offers support to various hierarchies of borrowing put forth in the literature, once again confirming the almost universally accepted idea that nouns have the highest propensity for borrowing of all speech parts. Moreover, a comparative analysis of borrowed types and tokens shows that not only are nouns transferred more easily as word types, but they are also used more frequently than adjectives and other borrowed classes. This situation can be partly explained as a result of a limited number of nouns showing a very high frequency of occurrence (i.e. over 100 tokens).

The preference for borrowed nouns in contemporary Romanian has been described in the literature before (Băncilă and Chițoran, 1976; Bota, 1978; Avram, 1997) and confirmed statistically by studies conducted on large corpora of data (Manolescu, 1999; Ciobanu, 2004). For example, Manolescu (1999: 120) estimates that nouns represent about 81.8% of the total of borrowings in her study, followed by adjectives, with a percentage of 14.5%, verbs with 2.3%, and adverbs with 0.6%. Ciobanu's count, on the other hand, results in a slightly higher proportion of nouns (91.9%) and a lower representation of other word classes: adjectives 5.86%, verbs 1.05%, adverbs 0.73%, and only 5 interjections (2004: 93).

The differences existing between the results of these studies (the present one included) can be explained in terms of different research methodologies being used, but also in terms of the differences existing between the corpora on which these studies were based. Thus, a corpus including older and better established borrowings such as Manolescu's will contain a lower proportion of nouns than one consisting of more recent loans. This situation once again confirms Graur's observation that the more recent the borrowings the higher the representation of nouns in the total (1968: 281), presumably as a result of some lack of stability inherent in the concepts designated by the borrowed nouns.

We believe that the correlation between age of borrowing and word class inclusion can be theoretically explained in terms of loanword integration: time-depth is very often linked to the morpho-syntactic adaptation of borrowings, which involves language-internal processes of derivation and conversion. These processes, especially suffixation, will frequently result in the formation of adjectives, verbs, or adverbs from noun bases. Later in this chapter, it will be shown that those Anglicisms which combine with Romanian affixes are among the oldest and most frequently used borrowings in the corpus, being almost exclusively represented by nouns.

Moreover, Graur's proposal regarding the preference recent borrowings show for the class of nouns seems to be empirically confirmed by the existence of varying patterns of mixing according to time-depth. For example, most of the verbs used in the 2005 issues of *Capital* were first used as nouns in earlier years of the corpus. Thus, the noun *download* is used in the verb phrase *a face download* as early as 1998, but *a downloada* first appears in 2001. Similarly, *update* is used as a noun in 1999, but the verb in the indicative–*updatează*–makes its way into the language of the magazine in 2002. In addition to these cases, we believe that the appearance of verbs such as *a manageria, a performa, a mixa, a rebranda* in the corpus after 2002 was supported by the existence of the more established nominal loans *manager, performer, mixer/ mixaj, brand/ rebrandare* before that date. All these examples, as well as other similar cases presented in the literature, seem to suggest the idea that, for some languages and in certain contact situations, most borrowings will enter a language first as nouns and only later as other parts of speech.

In order to obtain a more faithful image of the actual impact English borrowings have on the word classes of present-day Romanian, their grammatical distribution was compared to that of native words in the corpus without Anglicisms. According to several language contact writers (Weinreich, 1968; Poplack et al., 1988; Treffers-Daller, 1994), this comparison is necessary if one is to speak of ease of borrowing, because a word class that has a higher representation in the total of borrowings than its native counterpart does in monolingual texts can be described as very easily borrowed, even if it does not occur very frequently in absolute terms. In detail, the graph below shows the results of this analysis.

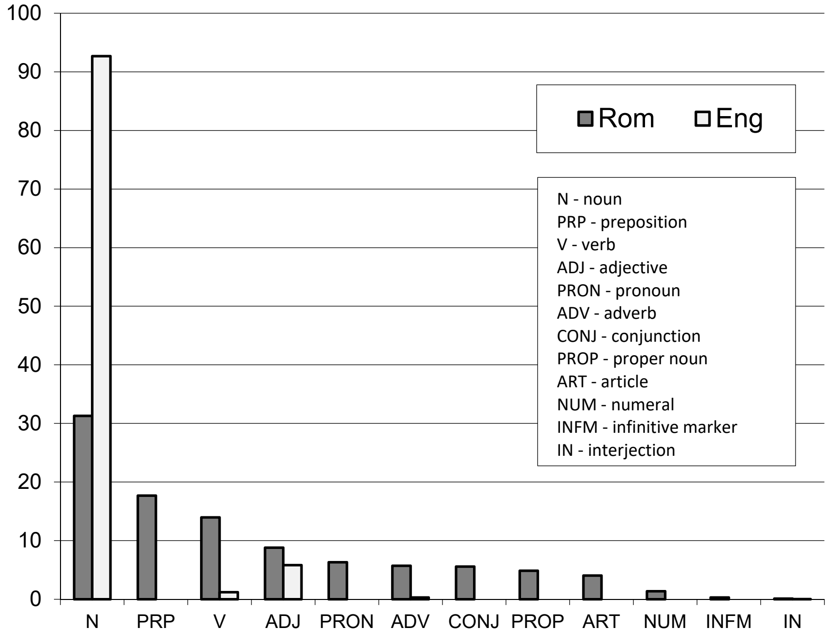


Figure 4.1 Simple Anglicisms in *Capital* 2005. Percentage of each part of speech in native and borrowed lexicon

The data in this graph shows that the distribution of borrowings across word classes is not a simple reflection of the distribution of native words in monolingual discourse. Thus, while nouns are borrowed much more often than predicted by their frequency of occurrence in Romanian texts, all the other categories are borrowed less often. When compared to native material, borrowed adjectives can be described as being the most balanced class, with a representation in the total of borrowings that comes close to that of Romanian adjectives in monolingual discourse. This analysis confirms the findings of other studies (Poplack et al., 1988; Treffers-

Daller, 1994) regarding the preference of borrowings for nouns above the proportion this class holds in monolingual discourse.

The prevalence of nouns over other parts of speech can be explained as a result of the various semantic, structural, pragmatic, and discoursal factors discussed in Chapter 2. From a semantic perspective, it is generally agreed that one of the main reasons why borrowings are taken into a language in the first place is to name things, concepts, and processes which are new to the culture of that language, and which are prototypically expressed by nouns. In the particular case studied here, the lexical borrowings found in *Capital* 2005 designate economic concepts and processes, as well as concepts and processes from related fields of activity (IT, entertainment, culture) which are increasingly used and discussed in Romania. This situation is a result of the relatively recent emergence of a new type of economy, the market economy, based on Anglo-Saxon principles and using the same underlying conceptual metaphors. Thus, most of the borrowed words in the corpus have a clear cultural content, establishing a link with Western economic thinking and practice. From this perspective, it can be argued that the high representation of nouns in the total of words borrowed in *Capital* 2005 proves that borrowing from English into present-day Romanian is largely restricted to the realm of cultural loans.

In addition to their referential salience, the high number of nouns and adjectives in *Capital* 2005 is also a consequence of the nature of the studied corpus: in news writing, where the focus is on the transmission of information, nominal parts of speech are crucial, whereas in conversation, where sentences are short and thus more numerous, verbs are used more frequently (Biber et al., 2000).

However, the conjoined elements of semantics and register are underpredictive, as they cannot satisfactorily account for all cases of noun borrowing. For example, it is not very clear why some verb forms are not transferred together with their meanings, and instead

enter Romanian as nominal elements of verb phrases headed by the light verb *a face*. Why are *click, jog, train, head-hunt,* and many other words not borrowed as verbs and instead appear as nouns in the corresponding verb phrases *a da click, a face jogging, a face training, a face headhunting?* This question can only be answered if we turn to syntax and the structural make-ups of the two languages in contact.

In Chapter 2.2, we showed that the language contact literature generally explains the limited borrowability of verbs as a consequence of their structural complexity and heavy "syntactic luggage", which in turn results from the large number of words they control in a sentence. Romanian verbs have a rich system of inflectional endings to mark mood, tense, person, and number, which makes them difficult to integrate from a morphological point of view. This argument can be used to explain the low number of verbs borrowed from English, as well as the large number of bilingual verb phrases formed with the dummy verb *a face*.

The high proportion of nouns in *Capital* 2005 also results from several common strategies Romanian employs in the borrowing of English words. One such strategy is the conversion of different parts of speech, mostly adjectives and verbs, into nouns. Thus, the studied corpus shows a preference for the nominalization of words used exclusively as adjectives in English, and which in Romanian occupy syntactic slots normally reserved to nouns. This conversion path can be distinctly connected to borrowing and has certain semantic and syntactic characteristics (Guțu-Romalo (coord.) 2005 I: 134): the use of the definite or indefinite article (example 23 below), the subject position (example 24), and the use of borrowings in prepositional phrases most commonly headed by *de*, but also by other prepositions (*în, cu, prin, pentru, la*) (examples 23 and 25-27):

(23) Această tendință de emitere de carduri pentru sectorul de CORPORATE, este mai probabil ca un CO-BRANDED cu o companie de telefonie mobilă…

'A card issued for *the sector of corporate** (the corporate sector) is most likely *a co-branded** (a co-branded card) with a mobile phone company...'

(24) Nu înseamnă că OPEN-SOURCE e dezvoltat numai de cei care vor sa lucreze voluntar.
'It doesn't mean that *open-source** (open-source software) is developed only by freelancers. '

(25) Oamenii care lucrează în OUTDOOR au o deformație profesională: se tot învârt prin lume cu capul pe sus, în căutare de locații bune.
'People working *in outdoor** (in the outdoors) have a professional bias: they wander about, searching for good locations.'

(26) Tariful include: bilet de avion Budapesta Monastir, şapte nopți cazare cu ALL-INCLUSIVE la hotel…
'The fee includes: a plane ticket Budapest—Monastir, hotel accommodation for seven nights *with all-inclusive** (all-inclusive hotel accommodation for seven nights)… '

(27) Cele mai bune zone pentru OFFSHORE.
'The best areas *for offshore** (for offshore investments).'

An already mentioned strategy through which English borrowings are nominalized is the use of verb phrases headed by 'a face' and containing English nouns. 'A face' acts as a dummy verb which carries all the necessary suffixes for tense, mood, person, and number, in this way preventing the foreign verb from being inflected. Examples in this respect include: *a face check in (to check-in), a da click (to click), a face download (to download), a face exit (to exit), a face head-hunting (to head-hunt), a face hedging (to hedge), a face leasing (to lease), a face lobby (to lobby), a face un refresh (to refresh), a face share (to share), a face shopping (to shop), a face snorkel (to snorkel), a face snowboard (to snowboard), a face trading (to trade), a face training (to train), a face tuning (to tune), a face update (to update)*. Sometimes, other helping verbs can be used with the same function: *a utiliza blogurile (to blog), a cunoaşte un boom/a înregistra un boom (to boom).* The sentences below illustrate the usage of these verb phrases:

(28) Puteți face CHECK-IN pentru zborul de întoarcere, dacă este programat în următoarele 24 de ore.
'You can *do check-in** (check-in) for the return flight, if it is due in the next 24 hours. '

(29) Este mare iubitor al sportului—schiază, face SNOWBOARD, joacă golf si tenis, navighează…
'He is a very keen sportsman—he skis, *does snowboard** (snowboards), plays golf and tennis, sails ….'

These hybrid phrases will be further analysed in Chapter 5, when the morphosyntactic integration of borrowed verbs is discussed.

In addition to nouns, adjectives, and verbs, other parts of speech are only peripherally represented in the corpus of *Capital* 2005. Thus, merely one interjection is employed in quoted conversation–*OK* (example 22). Several determiners (*a, the, this, no*) and pronouns (*you, your, it, everything*) are used exclusively inside whole English sentences representing formulaic expressions and sayings:

(30) O maximă în lumea bursieră, "TREND IS **YOUR** FRIEND", susține ideea că întotdeauna trebuie valorificat avantajul determinat de consensul cu direcția trendului.
'A stock exchange aphorism, "trend is your friend", maintains that the trend consensus should always be used. '

(31) Iată însă că femeile de success din afacerile româneşti încep să nu mai fie excepțiile care confirmă regula "IT'S **A** MAN'S WORLD".
'Successful Romanian businesswomen are no longer the exceptions which confirm the rule „it's a man's world."'

(32) Dacă adaugam şi faptul că Bursa a avut un rally susținut şi fructuos în timpul verii, atunci trebuie să reținem o vorbă folosită de traderi: "EXPECT **THE** UNEXPECTED".
'Considering that the Stock Exchange saw a sustained and profitable rally during the summer, we must remember a saying used by traders: „expect the unexpected."'

(33) CNA ar trebui să prevadă (…) măcar un avertisment, ceva de genul "DON'T DO **THIS** AT HOME"
'CNA should include (…) at least a warning, something like „don't do this at home". '

Similarly, English prepositions (*of, in, after, to, for, on, by*), numerals (*five, four, one, first, third*), and conjunctions (*and, but, or*) occur only as part of code-switched expressions that are embedded in the structure of Romanian sentences:

(34) … România pierde enorm, acest "WINDOW **OF** OPPORTUNITY" pentru câ are incompetenți la şefia instituțiilor care ar trebui să creeze o repoziționare eficientă a României …
'... Romania loses tremendously, this „window of opportunity", because incompetent people are running the institutions that should effectively reposition Romania …'

(35) Pentru segmentul de costume MADE **BY** MEASURE masculine, sunt renumite case precum Ralph Lauren …
'For the segment of *made by measure* men's suits* (made-to-measure men's suits), houses such as Ralph Lauren are well-known …'

(36) S-a dus vremea tinerilor "workalchoolics", care te rugau să-i ajuți să lucreze voluntar într-un BIG **FIVE**.
'The time of young „*workalchoolics*"* („workaholics"), who would beg you to help them work in a Big Five, is long gone. '

(37) Ipacri România a elaborat, (…), un sistem de TRACE **AND** TRACKING, parte a sistemului Star…
'Ipacri Romania has designed, (…), a trace and tracking system as part of the Star system …'

Since these function words are never used in the present corpus outside their larger English environment, it would not be correct to describe them as borrowings into Romanian. However, it is not possible to ignore them altogether either, as they are after all present in the language, albeit embedded into larger phrases which lend themselves to an integrated and unitary interpretation. We believe that the mechanisms through which such words can be introduced into the language are similar to those that facilitate the use of borrowed affixes on native words: high frequency of occurrence combined with a high level of bilingualism on the part of those using these phrases may lead to their compositional analysis and separate

use. If particular favourable connotations of modernity and fashion can be attached to a function word, its independent borrowing will probably be accelerated. However, this is a very tentative hypothesis, which should not overemphasize the idea of phrasal Anglicisms serving as paths of entry for English function words in Romanian.

4.2 Word formation

4.2.1 Derivation

Linguists unanimously agree that, among the different processes of word formation, derivation via affixation has a particularly important role in Romanian (Coteanu and Bidu-Vrânceanu, 1985; Hristea, 1984; Ciobanu, 2004). For example, trying to place Romanian within a larger linguistic landscape, Ciobanu (2004: 154) shows that its highly derivative character makes it similar to other Romance languages, but at the same time separates it from languages like German, English, Russian, or Hungarian, in which derivation and compounding are represented almost equally. While this is true from a historical perspective, derivation continues to be a highly productive process in present-day Romanian, especially as regards noun formation:

> Derivarea este procesul morfologic principal prin care se formează substantive de la cuvinte-bază nesubstantivale, prin sufixare, regresiv sau parasintetic. (Guțu-Romalo (coord.), 2005 I: 135)

Even if derivation is well represented in English too, lexical productivity in this language is particularly tied to compounding, which leads to the formation of a large number of words, especially in registers such as news and academic writing (Biber et al., 2000: 325-326). Since the largest group of Anglicisms in our corpus is constituted by nouns and adjectives, this structural difference

between English and Romanian can be expected to offer some insights into the way the various constraints on borrowing proposed in the literature apply to the particular Romanian–English contact situation.

According to the structural-compatibility requirement, which states that borrowings must conform to the typology of the recipient language, to its structure and “tendencies for development” at a given time, the proportion of derived and compound forms borrowed from English should reflect the proportion these word formation processes hold in Romanian, with derivation overriding compounding. Other theories, however, propose that borrowed material will reflect the structural make-up of the source language, its role being precisely that of filling gaps in the recipient language, be they lexical or structural. Thus, under conditions of intense contact, the prominent role compounding has in English as compared to Romanian could presumably lead to slight structural changes in the recipient language. These hypotheses will be tested in the first part of this sub-chapter.

In quantitative terms, Anglicisms formed by derivation account for 569 out the total of 1,442 borrowed types in the corpus. Most of them are made up of an English base and an English affix, with 410 Anglicism types formed by suffixation and 141 formed by prefixation. Between these two classes there is an overlap of 47 words that show both suffixation and prefixation in English. Nineteen borrowed words are derived with Romanian prefixes and 48 with Romanian suffixes, with an overlap of seven words having the structure Romanian prefix + English base + Romanian prefix: *cobrandată, rebranda, rebrandare, rebrandarea, rebrandată, rebrenduită, resetări.* Two words in the corpus (*updatarea, upgradarea*) show hybrid derivation of the type English prefix + English base + Romanian suffix. Finally, most interesting from the perspective of language contact theory are those rare cases when an English derivational

morpheme combines with a Romanian root in order to form a new word. The present corpus provides four examples of Anglicism prefixes attached to native bases–*cyber-activişti, cyber-fotografi, e-facturi, e-mandat*–and one of an Anglicism suffix used with a native base–*lidership*. In detail, the table below shows the representation of different derivational patterns in the 2005 corpus of Anglicisms.

Pattern	**Types**	**Tokens**	**Examples**
English prefix + English root	96	1,997	*hypermarket, co-branded*
English root + English suffix	370	5,296	*bearish, carrier*
English prefix + English root + English suffix	39	198	*empowerment*
English prefix + Romanian root	4	15	*cyber-fotografii, e-mandat*
Romanian root + English suffix	1	1	*lidership*
Romanian prefix + English root	11	138	*hipermarket, hiper-retail*
English root + Romanian suffix	40	457	*brandare, retailist*
Romanian prefix + English root + Romanian suffix	6	14	*rebrandare, cobrandată*
English prefix + English root + Romanian suffix	2	5	*upgradare, updatare*

Table 4.2 Derivational patterns used to form Anglicisms in *Capital* 2005

The result that stands out most obviously from the table above is the overwhelming predominance of English affixes in the total of

derived borrowings, and the relatively weak representation of Romanian affixes used with English bases. In a way, this situation is a consequence of the theoretical and methodological premises on which the present work is based: an Anglicism is defined as an *unadapted* English borrowing. Since the use of derivational morphology on borrowed words is a sign of linguistic integration, most borrowings showing Romanian derivation were excluded from the study in the early stages of Anglicism selection and classification. From this perspective it might even be tempting to argue that words like *retailist* or *rebrandare* can no longer be considered Anglicisms according to the definition given to the term in this study, as their status in Romanian is different from that of words like *advertising* and *matchmaker*. While delimiting the concept of Anglicism is unfortunately not possible without a compromise, in this study the formal criterion was taken to be indicative of a word's foreignness. Therefore, a lexical item was considered to have the same status as long as it preserved the same spelling, even if at a finer level of analysis different occurrences of the same word might point towards different stages in the integration process. The various combinational patterns presented in Table 4.2 will be discussed in the following sections.

4.2.1.1 English affixes and English bases

Avram (1978, as cited in Ciobanu 2004: 155) identifies 86 prefixes in Romanian, mostly of Slavic, Greek, and Romance origin. Most neological prefixes have a multiple etymology, and they are highly productive in present-day Romanian, representing two thirds of the prefix inventory in the language. In terms of word-class adherence, out of the 86 prefixes identified by Avram 27 function in nominal parts of speech, 6 in verbs, while 57 "join the verbal-nominal category" (Ciobanu, 2004: 155). In modern English, there are about 50 prefixes, and they are mostly used in adjectives, nouns, and verbs

(Biber et al., 2000: 319). In both languages studied, prefixes share several common characteristics: they are far less productive than suffixes in the formation of new words, and they do not generally change the word class of the words they are used with. Thus, in general a prefix is attached to a base in order to form a new word of the same class but with a different meaning (Biber et al., 2000: 319).

The *Capital* 2005 corpus contains a large number of English prefixes, the most important ones being presented in the table below.

Prefix	**Meaning(s)**	**Examples**
agri-	'related to agriculture'	*agribusiness*
anti-	'against, opposite to'	*antispyware*
co-	'joint'	*co-branded*
dis-	'the converse of'	*discount, display*
e-	'electronic, via the Internet'	*e-banking, e-commerce/ ecommerce, e-content, e-business/ ebusiness, e-currency, e-governance, e-government/ egovernment, e-learning/ elearning, e-mail/ email, e-publishing, e-tax, e-training*
em-	'being conferred the quality of'	*empowerment*
euro-	'European, connected with the European Union'	*eurobonduri, euroland*
hyper-	'very large'	*hypermarket*
i-	'internet'	*ibanking, ibutton, ibook, ipod*

inter-	'between, among'	*internet, interview*
intra-	'within, inside'	*intranet, intraday/ intra-day,*
mega-	'supreme'	*megastar*
mini-	'small'	*minicard, minicar, minimarket*
multi-	'many'	*multibrand, multicore, multimedia, multiplayer, multishot*
non-	'not'	*non-food, non prime-time, non-stop*
out-	'outside, beyond'	*out-tasking, outdoor, outsourcing, outstanding, outplacement, outsider*
pre-	'before'	*prepay/ pre-pay*
re-	'again'	*rebound, rebranding, reengineering, refresh, , reloaded, reset*
Self	'by yourself, to yourself'	*self-care, self-learning*
sub-	'below'	*sublabel, subchart, subbrand, subwoofer*
super-	'more than, above'	*super-hituri, supermarket, superstaruri*
tele-	'distant'	*teleshopping, telemarketing*
under-	'below'	*Underground*
un-	'not'	*unplugged, unfortunate*
up-	'making something higher' 'at or towards the top or	*update, upgrade,*

	beginning of sth.'	*upstream*
vice	'next in official rank'	*vice-president*

Table 4.3 English prefixes used to form Anglicisms in *Capital* 2005 (adapted from Biber et al., 2000: 320)

More than twenty, mostly nominal prefixes were identified in the corpus of *Capital* 2005. They are used to form 141 word types and 2,183 word tokens, which indicates an average frequency of occurrence of less than 16. However, this average is distorted by the very high occurrence of a relatively small number of words. For example, *internet* alone appears in 694 instances, *e-mail* in 572, *supermarket* in 221, *iPod* in 72, *subchart* in 62, *discount* in 59, *rebranding* and *multimedia* in 50. Conversely, around 50 prefixed types in the corpus have a frequency of occurrence of merely one or two.

The quantitative analysis of borrowed English prefixes reveals a discrepancy existing sometimes between the very high occurrence of a prefix and its limited productivity as regards the number of separate bases which use it. The best examples in this respect are *inter-* and *super-*, used only in *internet, supermarket,* and *superstar*, but showing some of the highest frequencies of occurrence in the whole corpus of Anglicisms. Other prefixes, on the other hand, show both numerical superiority and a good distribution across word types. Such examples include *e-,* which appears with 22 different bases, but is also one of the most often used prefixes in the corpus due to the high frequency of *e-mail, out-* which is used with 8 bases and is also relatively high on the frequency scale because of *outsourcing* and *outdoor* (48 and 22 occurrences), and *multi-,* which appears with 6 bases and in more than 50 instances, mainly due to *multimedia*. Other examples of borrowings formed with these prefixes include: *e-learning, e-commerce, e-business, e-banking, e-content, e-government, e-publishing, outplacement, outsider, multi-core, multi-brand*. In detail, the

graph below shows the quantitative distribution of various Anglicism prefixes across borrowed words.

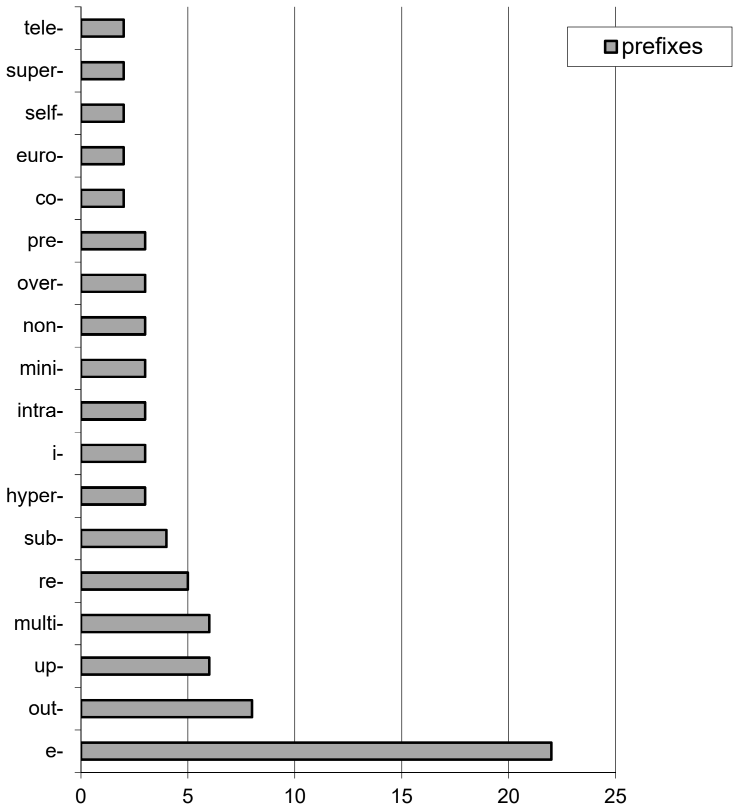


Figure 4.2 Number of Anglicisms (lemmas) formed with derivational prefixes in *Capital* 2005

We believe that the highest chances of survival and possibly of independent transfer into Romanian are those of prefixes showing both good frequency of occurrence and high productivity in terms of number of roots they attach to. These prefixes can be expected to strengthen their position in the future, especially if they have a certain referential value, for example by establishing a link with

rapidly growing areas of interest in the contemporary world, e.g. the Internet (*cyber, e-, i-)*. The examples below illustrate the usage of some of these prefixes:

> (38) **E**-LEARNINGUL era ceva foarte nou în 1990 şi în America.
> 'In 1990, *the e-learning** (e-learning) was something very new in America, too.'
>
> (39) În anul 2004, valoarea pieței de **E**-COMMERCE s-a ridicat la 15-16 milioane de dolari, ...
> 'In 2004, the value of the market of e-commerce (the e-commerce market) reached 15-16 million dollars, ...'
>
> (40) Pe baza unui **I**BUTTON sau smartcard se identifică...
> 'One identifies oneself by using an iButton or smartcard ...'

The list of imported prefixes presented in the first part of this section reveals a number of important things. Firstly, prefixes vary in their preference for hyphenation, sometimes the same prefix + base combination being written in two different ways, *e.g. e-learning/ elearning, e-government/ egovernment, pre-pay/ prepay*. Secondly, they also vary in their semantic content, from semantically transparent to more opaque. Thus, as Biber et al. (2000: 320) show, some prefixed nouns may acquire meanings which are not simply the sum of the meanings of the prefix and the base (*discount, display, interview*). This situation makes it very unlikely for such prefixes to be analyzed separately from their roots and used productively on native words, the prefixes that do appear with Romanian words (*cyber-, e-*) having a content load that makes them very similar to adjectives. And finally, not all prefixes listed above can equally well be described as being borrowed, the 'foreignness' they display varying from highly salient (*under, down, up, out, over, un, e-, cyber*) to more ambiguous, borderline cases.

In this context, a special situation is constituted by prefixes of neoclassical origin used with various semantic functions (e.g. *mini, anti, super, mega, agri*). Avram (1997: 23) believes that the English

influence has considerably strengthened the position in Romanian of cognates such as *hiper-, super-, dis-, maxi-, mega-, mini-,* a situation which makes it even more difficult to distinguish between cases of native prefixes and those of English prefixes imported as part of derived borrowings.

In the absence of pronunciation cues and based solely on the graphemic criterion, the use of bilingual prefixes of Latin and Greek origin (*anti, agri, intra, inter, mega, mini, multi, pre, super, sub, tele)* makes it almost impossible to distinguish between Anglicism prefixation in Romanian and the borrowing of lexical units derived in English. This second scenario becomes more plausible when the borrowed base is used only occasionally and always together with a prefix. In such cases the prefix + root combination should probably be seen as an unanalysable unit, which, not having been broken into its component parts, could not have undergone prefix substitution either. Examples in this respect include *pre-pay*, *multishot, subwoofer.* In other cases, writing provides important cues in distinguishing Romanian prefixes from borrowed ones, e.g. *hiper* vs *hyper.*

On the other hand, when a prefix occurs with a frequently used base which has undergone considerable morphological adaptation to Romanian, for example by derivation with a native suffix, we believe that it is more correct to assume that the prefix is of Romanian extraction. Thus, we believe that *re-* is of English origin in words such as *rebound*, *rebranding, reengineering, refresh, reloaded, reset*, but of Romanian origin in *rebrandare, rebrandată, rebrenduită, resetări.* Similarly, *co-* is of English origin in *co-branded*, but a native prefix in *cobrandată*.

The Romanian extraction of the prefix also becomes plausible if the base is often used independently or in combination with other affixes. Examples in this respect include *megastar/superstar/star, minicard/card, minimarket/supermarket/market, multibrand/subbrand/*

brand, multicore/dualcore, multiplayer/DVD-player, sublabel/label, subchart/chart, teleshopping/shopping.

The corpus also contains prefixes lacking cognate forms in Romanian. With the exception of *e-*, these are restricted to English bases and have a rather limited occurrence. Moreover, the words to which they are affixed do not usually appear in the corpus outside their derived forms, so that their internal structure is less obvious to the Romanian reader. The examples below illustrate the usage of these words:

(41) Înfiinţată în 1983 şi activând ca trupă exclusiv **UNDER**GROUND, Timpuri noi a cunoscut în 1991 o schimbare radicală …
'Established in 1983 and performing as an exclusively undergound band, Timpuri noi saw a radical change in 1991 …'

(42) Datorită acestui lucru, la baza colaborării dintre angajaţii companiei stă conceptul de **EM**POWERMENT (împuternicire) …
'This is why, collaboration between the company's employees is based on the concept of empowerment …'

Another important mechanism of Anglicism formation is suffixation, 458 of all Anglicism types in the *Capital* 2005 corpus being derived in this way. Suffixation is well represented in both languages under consideration, derivational suffixes being both more numerous and more productive than prefixes in terms of the number of bases they use. According to Biber et al. (2000: 324), this discrepancy between the two word-formation mechanisms can be explained in functional terms: most prefixes contain a meaning that can be expressed almost as economically by adjectives or other modifiers, while suffixes "encapsulate a meaning that could be longer or clumsier to convey in another way". Moreover, derivation by suffixes is an efficient way to obtain complex words, especially in the written registers. News writing, which needs to resort to economical ways of packing information, is particularly susceptible of using such complex word formation processes.

Derivational suffixes show the following main characteristics: they are semantically less transparent than prefixes, suffixed nouns often acquiring meanings which cannot be fully understood by combining the meaning of the suffix with that of the base, and sometimes they lead to changes in the spelling and pronunciation of the base, *e.g. advocate* + *cy*> *advocacy* (Biber et al., 2000: 321). Since most suffixes will change the class of the word they attach to, the analysis of borrowed suffixes in the *Capital* corpus is based on this criterion (cf. Biber et al., 2000: 321-322).

Suffix	Meaning(s)	Examples
-age	'action/result of V'	*package*
-ance	'action or state of V-ing'	*bankassurance, e-governance*
-cy	'state or quality of being A/N'	*advocacy*
-ee	'person who has been or is to be V-ed'	*trainee*
-er	'person who V-s' 'something used for V-ing'	*advertiser, end-user, free-lancer, gamer, hacker, hedger, planner, promoter, retailer, spammer, trader, trailer* *browser, explorer, voucher*
-ing	'action/ instance of V-ing' 'something that one V-s or has V-ed'	*advertising, fundraising, insourcing, longplaying, merchandising, outsourcing, on-going, piercing, purchasing, quilting, rating, shipping, shopping, team-building, telemarketing, ticketing, timing, websurfing, yachting*
-ie	'diminutive name for N'	*walkie-talkie*
-ism	'doctrine of N' 'movement characterized by A/N'	*thatcherism* *consumerism*
-ity	'state or quality of being A'	*hospitality, reality*
-let	'small N'	*leaflet*
-ment	'action/ instance of V-ing'	*development, empowerment, entertainment, epayment, infotainment, e-government, management, outplacement*

-ness	'state or quality of being A'	*awareness, fitness, wellness*
-or	'person who V-s'	*supervisor, operator, investor*
-ship	'state of being N' 'skill as N'	*leadership*
-tion	'action/ instance of V-ing'	*job- rotation*

Table 4.4 Derivational suffixes used to form nominal Anglicisms in *Capital* 2005 (adapted from Biber et al., 2000: 321-322)

Suffix	Meaning(s)	Examples
-al	'connected with N'	*managerial*
-ate	'showing N'	*unfortunate*
-ary	'showing N'	*precautionary*
-ic	'of N, characterized by N'	*workaholic*
-ing		*outstanding, fluting, on-going, revolving*
-ive	'tending to V'	*all-inclusive*
-ish	'resembling N'	*bearish, bullish*
-ly	'characteristic of N'	*daily*
-less	'without, not having N'	*wireless*
-y	'full of N, having, showing (much/many) N/ N(s)	*glossy, sexy, spicy, trendy*

Table 4.5 Derivational suffixes used to form adjectival Anglicisms in *Capital* 2005

The corpus of *Capital* 2005 contains fifteen borrowed nominal suffixes and ten adjectival suffixes, most of them having been recorded before by various language contact studies (Manolescu, 1999; Ciobanu, 2004; Stoichițoiu-Ichim, 2006). Some of these suffixes have equivalent forms in Romanian, e.g. *-ism, -al, -ment,* and *-or*. In these cases, just like in those of the prefixes discussed before, it is not possible to determine with any certainty whether foreign or native endings have been used in the formation of different borrowings. Thus, *managerial* may have been imported as a lexical unit from English, or it may have been formed in Romanian from the English

base *manager,* on the model of the native *antreprenorial, colocvial, familial, etc.*

Some of the suffixes used to form Anglicisms have a relatively high frequency of occurrence in spite of their rather limited distribution across borrowed types and lemmas. This situation results from their employment inside high-frequency words designating widely diffused concepts. Representative examples in this respect are *-less* and *–ship,* which appear in 54 and 53 instances respectively, but are both limited to merely one word (*wireless* and *leadership)*. Other suffixes showing a very high frequency of occurrence but rather limited distribution across word bases are *-ment,* with 800 occurrences but fewer than 10 bases (*management, development, e-government, entertainment, empowerment, e-payment, outplacement*), and *ness* with more than 200 tokens of occurrence but a coverage of only two words–*business* and *fitness*.

In terms of suffixal productivity, the studied corpus shows a special preference for derivatives with *-ing* and *-er,* which account for more than half of all suffixed borrowings. More specifically, 100 out of the 281 suffixed lemmas in *Capital* 2005 are formed with *-ing* and 71 with *-er*. The high representation of these suffixes could be due to the fact that a large number of borrowings are nouns derived from verbs denoting actions, processes, states, which constitute an important focus point of news writing. Another factor contributing to their wide diffusion may be their presence in older, more established borrowings (*e.g. camping, dribling, smoching, holding, lider, suporter)*.

The high frequency of *-ing* and *-er,* together with their widespread occurrence across lemmas, leads us to believe that these suffixes will strengthen their position in Romanian and will constitute a familiar entry gate for English borrowings in the future, too. It is also worth mentioning that the survival of *-ing* ending Anglicisms was not given many chances forty years ago (Seche,

1974), due to what seemed then difficulties in their adaptation to Romanian. The preservation and numerical growth of borrowings ending in this suffix, in spite of perceived structural obstacles, seem to confirm those theories that grant paramount importance to social factors (increased level of bilingualism, cultural pressure, favourable connotations associated with the source language) in determining the outcomes of language contact.

Few suffixes other than *-ing* and *-er* can be described as being widely diffused in *Capital* 2005. In detail, the graph below shows the distribution of Anglicism suffixes across lemmas:

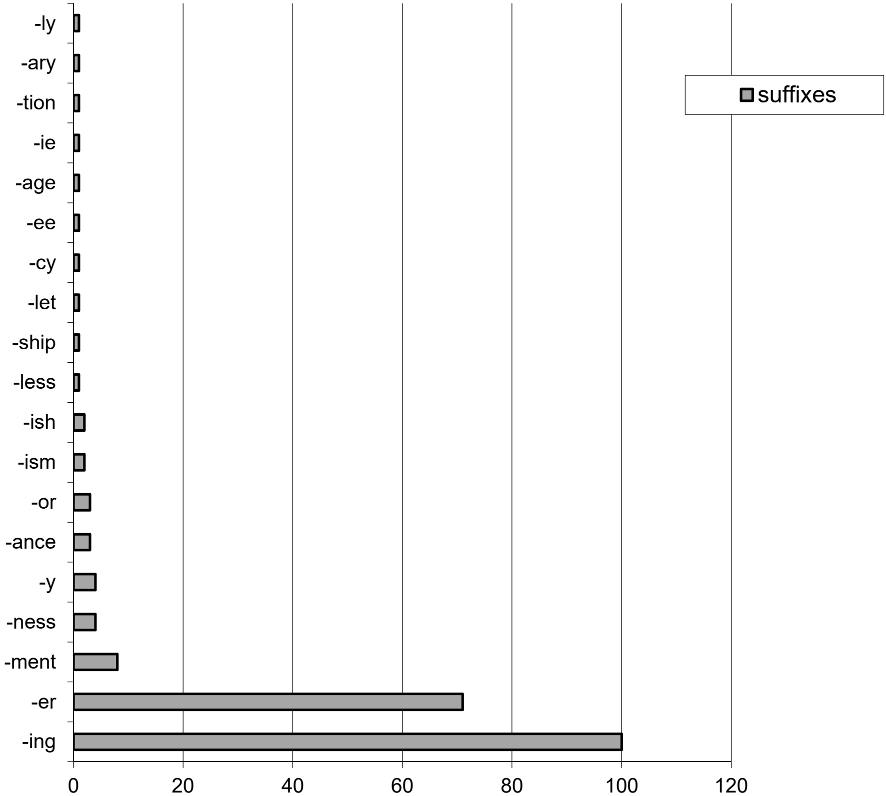


Figure 4.3 Number of Anglicisms (lemmas) formed with derivational suffixes

The graph shows the high productivity of *-ing* and *-er* on the one hand, but also the relatively low diffusion of most other suffixes, a large number of which are used merely once or twice in our corpus. In addition to suffixes recorded by other works on the topic (Manolescu, 1999; Ciobanu, 2004), the *Capital* corpus also includes endings which are relatively new to Romanian, e.g. *-ee, -cy, -ly, -less, -ish*.

4.2.1.2 Romanian affixes and English bases

A low proportion of derived Anglicisms in the corpus are formed with native suffixes; these formations are blended derivatives in Haugen's terminology. The most common Romanian suffixes that combine with English bases are the following:

Suffix	Examples
-aj (E. age):	*brokeraj, mixaj*
-are (E. ing):	*accesare, clonare, printare, rebrandare, resetare, scanare, targetare, updatare, upgradare, marketare*
-are (E. ship):	*sponsorizare*
-are (E. tion):	*containerizare*
-ist (E. er)/-iști:	*retailist, lobby-işti, PR-işti*
-ia, -iza (E. ize):	*a computeriza, a containerize*

Table 4.6 Romanian suffixes used with English bases in *Capital* 2005

The table above shows that the noun-forming *-are* is the most productive Romanian suffix used with English roots, functioning as an equivalent to three different foreign endings and being used to form abstract nouns for activities, states, or processes. The words on which this suffix is used show some of the highest frequencies of occurrence in the corpus–*brand, target, market.* In general, this situation applies to most English bases used with native affixes: they are among the most frequently used Anglicisms in the corpus and therefore the most integrated ones, Romanian suffixation itself being an indicator of integration. Other noun-forming suffixes are *–aj* and *–ist.* Verbs are formed with the suffixes *–ia* and *-iza,* which sometimes replace *–ise/ize* as in *to computerize*> *a computeriza, to containerize*> *a containeriza,* but other times have no counterpart in English, e.g. *to sponsor*> *a sponsoriza.*

In some cases, both a Romanian and an English suffix are used with the same base. This situation may indicate an ongoing adaptation process during which the foreign ending is replaced with

the native one, a scenario supported by the overwhelming numerical superiority of the English base + English suffix combination in most of these cases. For example, *branding* and *rebranding* are used in over 80 instances, while *rebrandare* is used in merely 10; *marketing* has over 850 occurrences, while *marketare* appears once; *retailer* has a frequency of over 120 tokens, while *retailist* is used only once. The adaptation hypothesis was put forth by Avram (1997: 23), who believes that all Anglicisms derived with a Romanian affix have resulted from the adaptation of an English affix, e.g. *-aj* < *–age*, *-are* < *–ing,* etc. This interpretation also coincides with Haugen's (1953) observation that blended derivatives result from the replacement of a foreign suffix with a native one, especially when the two affixes resemble each other formally.

However, we believe that blended derivatives are sometimes the result of language internal derivational processes, having been formed on Romanian ground from previously borrowed roots and without any connection with the corresponding English suffix. Thus, we agree with Winford, who states that

> Most "loanblends"[…] arise when native (recipient language-RL) derivational processes are applied to previously imported words. (Winford, 2003: 44)

A factor supporting this hypothesis is the high frequency of the words serving as bases for blended derivatives in the studied corpus, most of these words being among the 100 most frequent borrowed types in *Capital* 2005: *brand* is used for 420 times, *retail* has 350 occurrences, while *target* occurs in 32 instances, to give just a few examples. Furthermore, as Table 4.6 above shows, the same Romanian suffix is sometimes used where two or several suffixes would be used in English (*printing–printare, sponsorship–sponsorizare),* most often the foreign and the native suffix being formally unrelated. Finally, the Romanian derivation of previously borrowed bases seems to be particularly plausible for those

Anglicisms having no derived counterpart in English (*softist, a sponsoriza)*. Based on this evidence, we believe that *retailist,* for example, is not an adapted form of *retailer*, but the Romanian-internal derivative *retail* + ist on the model of *detailist, angrosist, profesionist, etc*.

As regards Romanian prefixes used with borrowed words, there are three such instances in the corpus, used in a total of 17 types and 152 tokens. The table below shows these prefixes together with the words using them.

Prefix	Examples
co-	*cobrandată*
hiper-	*hiper-retail, hypermarket*
re-	*rebrandare, rebrandată, rebrenduită, resetări*

Table 4.7 Romanian prefixes used with English bases in *Capital 2005*

The most productive of these prefixes is *re-*, used with four different words, followed by *hiper-* and *co-*, while the most frequently used one is *hiper-* (in *hipermarket),* with 131 tokens of occurrence. A more detailed analysis of blended derivatives in the corpus of *Capital* 2005 will follow later in this chapter.

4.2.1.3 English affixes and Romanian bases

Only three derivational affixes–two prefixes (*cyber-* and *e-)* and one suffix (*-ship)*–are used with Romanian roots in our corpus. Both prefixes establish a connection with the field of the Internet and of electronic processes. The first one is used with two Romanian words:

(43)"**CYBER**-FOTOGRAFII intră în scenă"
'The cyber-photographers enter the scene.'

(44) Cei de la Greenpeace sunt **CYBER**-ACTIVIŞTI în toată puterea cuvântului.
'Greenpeace are true cyber-activists. '

The other one modifies the words *facturi* and *mandate*:

(45) **E**-FACTURI oferă şi posibilitatea managementului electronic al tuturor facturilor plătite ….
'E-invoices also facilitate the electronic management of all paid invoices ... .'

(46) Poşta Română a modificat din această săptămână algoritmul de calcul pentru tarifarea mandatelor poştale, online şi **E**-MANDAT.
'This week, the Romanian Post Service has changed the fees for postal orders, online orders, and e-orders.'

However, it should be said that although these prefixes are not completely free-standing, they are not prototypical examples of bound morphemes either, showing more structural autonomy and referential stability than other borrowed affixes in the corpus. From a formal point of view, both *-cyber* and *-e* display some of the classical signs promoting borrowing (e.g. syllabicity and relative sharpness of boundaries), while from a semantic point of view they are more transparent than other prefixes in our data, their meaning being closer to that of adjectives. These observations seem to confirm the proposal put forth in the language contact literature (Harris and Campbell, 1995) that the borrowability of an affix is determined by its semantic content.

The suffix that is used with a Romanian stem–*ship*- combines with an adapted and more established Anglicism, *lider*. Since this word is not a canonical example of native vocabulary, but rather a relatively recent, adapted English borrowing, it can be argued that it does not offer a very convincing example of a foreign bound morpheme having been extended to a native word. An alternative interpretation of *lidership* would be to regard it as a partly adapted form of *leadership,* or, in Haugen's terms, an instance of substitution (phonological and graphemic integration of the base word–*leader*) and importation (*ship*), combined at the level of one lexical unit.

The use of foreign affixes on native roots and conversely of native affixes on foreign roots can also be analysed from the perspective of Poplack's widely discussed and tested Free

Morpheme Constraint. This constraint states the impossibility of switching between two languages within words, postulating that:

> Codes may be switched after any constituent provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme. (1980: 586)

According to this rule, the following example is excluded from being produced in the speech of bilinguals:

> * *estoy* eat-*iendo* (Poplack, 1980: 586)
> *I – am eat-ing.*

In this form, the constraint would also disallow the following examples in our corpus:

> *Piața românească a societăților de* broker-*aj*
> [The Romanian market of broker-age firms]

or

> *sistemul de* target-*are*
> [the target-*ing* system]

As examples like those above are very common in all languages, an important specification of the constraint is that if a switch between a free and a bound morpheme does take place, then the phonological integration of the foreign morpheme is the prerequisite. Thus, those foreign words combining with native morphemes have a special status in the recipient language, being assigned the quality of borrowings and losing their status as code-switches.

Since the borrowing/code-switching dichotomy has not been observed in this study at the level of single words, the Free Morpheme constraint will be discussed in relation to all English words combining with Romanian morphemes. According to the specifications of this constraint, the borrowed words showing native affixation belong to a different class from those using English suffixes/prefixes, showing more integration and, at least

phonologically, conforming to Romanian structural rules. This hypothesis is supported by the statistical findings in the present study: the Anglicism bases undergoing Romanian derivation are among the most frequently used and oldest borrowings in the corpus, and can therefore be expected to conform to Romanian pronunciation rules. From this perspective, it can be argued that Poplack's Free Morpheme constraint makes the correct predictions for Romanian–English contact.

The statistical analysis of derivational morphemes in the corpus of simple Anglicisms reveals the overwhelming predominance of English affixes over their Romanian counterparts. Even in those cases when both languages contribute to the formation of a word, the Romanian affix is much more poorly represented than the English one.

The large number of English derivatives can be explained in terms of the lower structuredness of derivational morphology as compared to the inflectional one (Biber et al. 2000): a prefix or a suffix establishes no relation with other words in the sentence except its root, which makes it easier to embed into the matrix of a foreign language. Moreover, some English suffixes (*-er*, *-ist*, *-ment)* have equivalent forms in Romanian, a situation which facilitates their borrowing in foreign words.

In general, borrowed affixes are used with more than one base, and the same base can be used with more than one affix or in the complete absence of affixation. Examples in this respect include *advertising/advertiser, advice/advicer, baby-sitter/baby-sitting, blog/ blogger/blogging, browser/browsing, buyer/buying, brand/branding/ rebranding/rebrandare/branded/co-branded/brandat/brănduit, coach/ coaching, consumer/comsumerism, deal/dealer/dealing, developer/ development, merchandise/merchandiser/merchandising, trend/ trendy, sex/ sexy, manager/managerial, leader/leadership, training/trainer/trainee, trader/trading.* We tend to believe that when this happens, the

compositional nature of the derived words becomes more transparent, thus facilitating the use of the affixes involved with other words as well. Moreover, sometimes different forms of the same word appear in clusters. An example in this respect is provided by *brand:*

> (47) … vicepreşedintele de marketing Connex, spune că schimbarea designului era necesară, şi că nu e vorba de un REBRANDING.
> ’... the marketing vice-president of Connex says that the design change was necessary, and that this is not *a rebranding** (a rebranding process).’

Then several sentences later:

> (48) … Connex nu a apelat la oricine, ci la (...) unul dintre cei mai buni specialişti de BRANDING din lume. S. a facut auditul de BRAND.
> ’... Connex didn’t use anybody, but (...) one of the world’s best branding specialists. S. performed the brand audit. ’

Another example of the way derived Anglicisms can occur in clusters is *blog* and *blogger*:

> (49) Un BLOG este creat la fiecare 5,8 secunde, conform PewInternet&American Life, 4% din companiile americane şi-au creat un blog corporatist,(…). 8% din utilizatorii de internet din SUA au publicat materiale pe BLOGURI. Salariul anual al unui BLOGGER este de 50.000-70.000 USD, conform Wall-Street Journal Online.
> ’A blog is created every 5.8 seconds, according to PewInternet&American Life, 4% of American companies have created a corporate blog,(…). 8% of USA’s Internet users have published something on blogs. A blogger’s annual salary is 50.000-70.000 US Dollars, according to Wall-Street Journal Online.’

Treffers-Daller (1999) believes that the occurrence of foreign roots independently of their suffixes, or the occurrence of the same suffix with various roots proves that this suffix has been borrowed as a separate entity, not as part of an unanalyzed unit. In our case, this would mean that those affixes showing a relatively good distribution across borrowed words can be regarded as borrowings on their own.

We would like to adopt a more cautious position in this respect, and suggest that English affixes occurring with more than one root become in this way formally and sometimes semantically more transparent to the reader, but without acquiring complete independence in terms of their borrowability. Although a high level of bilingualism can facilitate the reader's access to the structural make-up of various borrowed derivatives, we believe that a suffix can be regarded as being separately analyzed and therefore independent only when it is used productively with native bases.

So far, the independent borrowing of English affixes is only a marginal phenomenon in Romanian, being limited to a very small number of words. Those suffixes which display a relatively good frequency of occurrence with more than one root can be regarded as better, though not fully individualized linguistic entities, and therefore having better chances of being used independently of their English roots in the future. The specialized literature, as well as our unsystematic observation of speech data, shows that some of these endings are already used informally or humorously in Romanian. For example, *-y* is sometimes used in name abbreviations or diminutives to render them more modern and fashionable (Manolescu, 1999: 75).

4.2.2 Blending and clipping

Other word formation processes found in the corpus of *Capital* 2005 are blending and clipping. Some words appear solely as backclippings (*dot-com, forex, hifi, high-tech, low-tech, med-tech, sitcom, webcam, wifi*), while in several cases both the clipped and the whole form have been borrowed. Such examples are *hard/hardware, soft/ software, showbiz/showbusiness, living/living room, dining/dining room*.

Blending has resulted in some Anglicisms like *adware (advertisement + ware)*, *advertorial (advertisement + editorial)*, *brunch (breakfast + lunch)*, *flexitime (flexible + time)*, *forex (foreign + exchange)*,

and *infotainment (information + entertainment).* All these words are the result of blending on English ground, the studied corpus containing no examples of blends that were formed in Romanian.

4.2.3 Abbreviation

A total of 65 different abbreviations are used in the corpus, in addition to those standing for names. They appear as 81 word types and 2,884 word tokens, resulting in a token/type ratio of 35.60. However, this average is distorted by a relatively small number of abbreviations displaying a very high frequency of occurrence. Thus, *USD* alone has 835 occurrences, while *IT* appears in 397 instances. Other well distributed abbreviations include *PC* (161 occurrences), *DVD* (121 occurrences), *ATM* (97 occurrences), *CD* (89 occurrences), *PR* (88 occurrences), *CV* (77 occurrences), *PDA* (75 occurrences), and *SMS* (59 occurrences).

Most abbreviations in the corpus designate common things, ideas, processes, etc in the contemporary world, many of them having entered Romanian together with the concepts they describe and thus being typical examples of cultural loans. However, it can be argued that this referential function is very often complemented by an expressive one, some of these abbreviations also serving to express a mixed identity, Romanian and English, in addition to their denotative role. This is especially true in those cases when Romanian already has a synonym for the borrowed term.

A large number of abbreviations (approximately 30) have a very sporadic occurrence, being mentioned merely once or twice in the corpus. In general, they represent highly specialized terms from various economic or related fields (business administration, accounting, finance, management, marketing, information technology, foreign trade, telecommunications), and different strategies are used in order to aid readers in their understanding. Thus, sometimes these abbreviations are explained in context, in

English, in Romanian, or in both languages. Other times the abbreviation is given in brackets, while the phrase it stands for is embedded as such in the structure of the sentence. The examples below illustrate these different patterns of use:

(50) Şi asta într-o perioadă în care accentul în comunicarea către consumatori cădea pe publicitatea convenţională şi BTL (BELOW THE LINE)
'And this at a time when the emphasis in communication to consumers was on conventional and BTL (Below the Line) advertising. '

(51) McCann Erickson include o agenţie de publicitate, o divizie de media, o companie de BTL (PUBLICITATE NECONVENŢIONALĂ).
'McCann Erickson includes an advertising agency, a media division, and a BTL (unconventional advertising) company.'

(52) Câte companii româneşti din segmentul afacerilor mici şi mijlocii sunt pregătite să facă acest pas, implementarea unei soluţii de ERP (ENTERPRISE RESOURCE PLANNING–planificarea resurselor companiei) sau CRM (CUSTOMER RELATIONS MANAGEMENT–managementul relaţiilor cu clienţii)?
'How many small and medium-sized Romanian companies are ready to take this step, to implement an ERP (Enterprise Resource Planning) or CRM (Customer Relations Management) solution?'

(53) Romania Cable Systems (RCS), operator de cablu, (…) a lansat oficial un nou sistem de transmisie a programelor TV, bazat pe tehnologia digitală DIRECT TO HOME (DTH).
'Romania Cable Systems (RCS), a cable operator, (…) officially launched a new television broadcasting system, based on the Direct to Home (DTH) digital technology.'

(54) În 2004, Pro TV a livrat cele mai multe puncte de audienţă (GRP)...
'In 2004, Pro TV delivered the most audience points (GRP) …'

(55) Profiturile pe acţiune (EPS–EARN PER SHARE) corespunzătoare primelor 5 luni sunt …
'Earnings per share (EPS–Earn Per Share) for the first 5 months are …'

(56) Neoficial, există un preţ FOB Marea Neagră (FREE ON BOARD, gata de expediat) pentru principalele produse exportate cum ar fi grâul, porumbul sau floarea-soarelui.

'Unofficially, there is an FOB (free on board, ready to ship) Black Sea price for the main exported products such as wheat, corn, or sunflower.'

However, in many cases borrowed abbreviations are left untranslated:

(57) În acest context, instrumente de tip ROI, payback period, sau TCO devin criterii majore pentru decizia de pornire a unui astfel de proiect.
'In this contect, ROI, payback, or TCO instruments become important criteria for running such a project. '

4.2.4 Compounding[6]

While in English "noun compounding is a highly productive process" (Biber et al., 2000: 329), Romanian is a derivative-type language. According to Ciobanu (2004: 164), Romanian has inherited relatively few compounds from Latin, the increase in the number of such constructions being a result of borrowings from languages such as Slavic, Greek, Hungarian, Russian, Turkish, French, Italian, English, and German. Although in the last three centuries the main types of Romanian compounds have been preserved and enriched, their number increasing in the present too (Coteanu et al., 1985: 251), this word-formation process continues to constitute an important area of divergence between English and Romanian. Thus, it can be expected that under an increasing intensity of contact between the two languages, Romanian will be changed with respect to the number and types of compounds it contains.

A large number of Anglicisms in the corpus of *Capital* 2005 have resulted from compounding. More exactly, 373 out of the total of 1,442 word types borrowed from English are compounds. However, these types have a much lower representation in terms of their

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[6] In this book we regard as a compound any fused or hyphenated combination of words. If two or more words occur as one orthographic unit, they are considered compounds in all their occurrences, including those in which they are written separately.

number of occurrences: out of the total of 20,534 Anglicism tokens in the corpus only 2,392 are compounds. In detail, the following table provides an overview of the number of compound Anglicisms in the studied corpus, together with the ratios established between types and lemmas on the one hand, and tokens and types on the other. The first ratio serves to indicate the linguistic integration of these borrowings into Romanian inflectional morphology, while the second one shows their integration in social terms, i.e. distribution and frequency of use across the corpus.

	Lemmas	**Types**	**Tokens**	**Type/ lemma ratio**	**Frequency (token/ type)**
Total no. of simple Anglicisms	911	1,442	20,534	1.58	14.23
No. of one-word Anglicisms	634	1,069	18,142	1.68	16.97
No. of compounds	277	373	2,392	1.34	6.41
% of compounds/ total no. of Anglicisms	30.4%	25.86%	10.17%		

Table 4.8 Number of English compounds (lemmas/ types/ tokens) in *Capital* 2005

The one thing that stands out from the table above is the relatively low repetition rate of compounds as compared to one-word borrowings. Thus, although representing a large proportion of all Anglicisms in the corpus, both in lemma and in type terms, compounds account for slightly more than 10% of the total of tokens. This situation results from the fact that a large number of these words appear merely once or twice in our corpus. Moreover, their type/lemma ratio indicates rather limited inflectional diversity and therefore weak integration into the morphological structures of Romanian. This situation could suggest the idea that a word's

adoption and integration into a language are inversely proportional to formal characteristics such as length and structural complexity, which in turn have a bearing on other factors influencing borrowability (ease of learning and reproduction).

Our findings confirm the results of other studies regarding the number of compounds borrowed from English into contemporary Romanian. For example, Ciobanu (2004: 164) found that these constructions accounted for one fifth of the total number of Anglicisms in her count, a figure which broadly coincides with our results. The slightly higher proportion of compounds in our data can be explained as a consequence of the corpus on which the study was conducted, being connected to the specificity of news writing in general. Biber et al. (2000: 326) show that noun compounds are just over twice as frequent in news as in conversation, and that news also exploits more types of compounds, as opposed to conversation, where the noun + noun pattern predominates. These ideas are confirmed by the results of this study: borrowed compounds in *Capital* 2005 use a large variety of structural patterns, the most frequently used ones being presented in the table below.

Pattern	**Types**	**Examples**
Noun + noun	138	*airbag, internet-café, salesman, desktop, newsgroup, snowboard*
Adjective + noun	65	*back-office/ backoffice, broadsheet, dead-line/ deadline, fast-food/ fastfood, bluetooth, fulltime/ full-time*
Verb + particle	29	*backup, breakdown, check-in, feedback, layout, log-on, make-up, playback, standby*
Noun + noun/ verb-er	28	*matchmaker, jobhopper, webdesigner/ web-designer, web-surfer/ websurfer*
Verb/ noun* + noun	20	*call-center/ callcenter, copyright, talkshow/ talk-show, touchpad, touchscreen, walkman, workshop, copywriter*

Noun + verb-ing	6	*brainstorming, bungee-jumping/ bungeejumping, internetbanking, team-building/ teambuilding*
Particle + noun/ verb	17	*bypass, download, input*
Particle + noun	13	*offshore, inbox, online, offline, on-site, in-house*
Noun + adjective	9	*handsfree, worldwide*
Noun + verb/noun*	6	*cash-flow/ cashflow, face-lift/ facelift, headcount, headstart*

Table 4.9 Classification of English compounds in *Capital* 2005 by structural type

* according to Biber et al. (2000: 327), "these are cases of compounding where the marked element could be either a verb or a noun, but where the underlying relationship is more appropriately expressed by a verb", e.g. copyright implies 'Someone has the right to copy something' (our example).

Table 4.9 above shows that the most representative pattern of compounding in our corpus of borrowings is noun + noun, with 138 types. Moreover, if we include here those borderline cases in which one element of the compound could be either a verb or a noun (verb/noun + noun, noun + noun/verb-er, and noun + verb/noun), the number of compounds in this class increases to 192 types. Another important pattern is adjective + noun, which accounts for 65 types of the total. These statistical findings confirm the results of other studies (Ciobanu, 2004; Manolescu, 1999) regarding the proportion and structure of borrowed English compounds in Romanian, and seem to confirm the prediction that these structures will strengthen their position in the inventory of borrowed English vocabulary:

> Considering these patterns are present in many corpus compounds, we have all the reason to believe that these types of structures are going to be preserved and enriched with the future English borrowings. (Ciobanu, 2004: 167)

If we compare the compounding patterns of English and Romanian, we find only a low degree of overlap. Thus, although the two

structures discussed above as being representative for English are also present in Romanian, a more detailed level of analysis will reveal several important differences.

Firstly, in Romanian the adjective + noun combination is rather marginal, being restricted to adjectives such as *bun (bun-gust), rea (rea-credință), dublu (dublu-casetofon), triplu (triplusalt), prim (prim-ministru), viceprim (viceprim-secretar), lung (lungmetraj), scurt (scurtmetraj)* (DOOM, 2005: LXXI), while in English a larger number of adjectives can participate in the formation of compounds. Secondly, even if noun + noun structures exist in both languages, in Romanian the prototypical combination is that of nominative noun + genitive noun (e.g. *floarea soarelui, scaunul cucului*), juxtaposed constructions of the determined + determiner type (e.g. *an-lumină, companie-mamă, bloc-turn*) being less central to the language. In English, on the other hand, such compounds, but having their semantic and grammatical head on the rightmost nominal element (*e.g. airbag, seafood, baby-sitter*), are the canonical noun + noun combinations. Many writers studying the contact between the two languages (Avram, 1997; Constantinescu et al., 2004; Ciobanu, 2004; Stoichițoiu-Ichim, 2006) believe that English structures of the determiner + determined type are exerting a considerable influence on Romanian, sometimes leading to the development of similar structures, e.g. *Nord Hotel, Imobiliar Grup, stock-opțiune* (Avram, 1997: 23).

Verb + adverb, noun + verb, verb + noun, verb + verb, and particle + noun compounds are represented in Romanian mainly by old formations such as *vino-ncoace, meşter-strică, târâie-brâu, papă-lapte, linge-blide, du-te-vino, deochi, subsol, demâncare*, while in English they are very productive, e.g. *copyright, talkshow, facelift, feedback, offline, dropout, etc.* From this perspective, it can be expected that these English borrowings will revive and enrich some old, unproductive, and peripheral classes of Romanian, but without

introducing any radically new structures. Finally, some borrowed compounds in the corpus of *Capital* 2005 contain combinations which are totally new to Romanian, e.g. noun + past participle formations (*home-made, road-oriented, tailor-made, webbased*).

The discussion so far has shown that transfers between English and Romanian sometimes take place at those points where the two languages share similar structures, while in other cases borrowed compounds introduce structures which are relatively new to the recipient language. In spite of these structural mismatches, we believe that Romanian–English contact proceeds in compliance with the structural compatibility requirement, borrowing conforming to the overall specifications imposed by the recipient language.

A final aspect of borrowed English compounds that requires some attention is their writing. The studied corpus shows considerable variation as regards the spelling of these elements, which can be represented as two orthographic words (*team building, clam shell, off shore*), one unbroken orthographic word (*teambuilding, clamshell, offshore*), or a hyphenated word (*team-building, off-shore, call-center*). This is partly due to their new character and therefore instability in the language, and partly because "there is no clear dividing line between compounds and free combinations" (Biber et al., 2000: 326).

4.2.4.1 Blended compounds

Hybrid or blended compounds (Haugen, 1953) are those words consisting of both source and recipient language stems. There are more than 20 such formations in the corpus of *Capital* 2005, with around 30 types and almost 70 tokens of occurrence. The most often used blended compounds are *videoclip* (with 25 occurrences), *schipass* (with 5 occurrences), and *videoplayer* (with 4 occurrences). All the other ones have a token frequency of 3 or less. In general, low-frequency blends show a structure which is atypical or awkward for

Romanian, e.g. determiner + determined *(businessplan, mediaplan, crash-test, hair-stilist).*

Not all the compounds in this category display the same obvious signs of hybrid composition. Thus, while in some cases the words entering blends clearly belong to either English or Romanian, showing the most evident signs of foreignness (English writing) or being established words in Romanian (*babyschi, masterfranciză, masterfrancizat, masterfrancizor, team-lider*), in other cases the origin of the component elements is somehow obscured. Thus, the classification of *audiobook, videochat, videoplayer, videostreaming, videoclip, crash-test* and other similar cases is complicated by the use of the bilingual cognates *audio, video,* and *test,* which in the absence of pronunciation cues are difficult to mark as categorically belonging to English or Romanian. Since the phonological criterion cannot be used in this study, morphology can sometimes offer valuable information for disambiguation. Thus, the existence of plural and other morphologically integrated forms such as *media-planurile, mediaplanuri, mediaplanurilor*, *crash-teste* points towards hybrid composition, at least in those cases when the inflected forms are used:

> (58) Modelul scos pe piață de Renault, de exemplu, este primul coup-cabriolet (…) care a obținut cinci stele la CRASH-TESTELE Euroncap.
> 'The model launched by Renault, for example, is the first coup-cabriolet (…) which obtained five stars at the Euroncap crash-tests.'

Moreover, it can be argued that these words have not resulted from the actual blending of foreign (*crash, media*) and native (*teste, planuri*) stems, but from a process of integration which has affected only the head of the compound. This interpretation receives support from most integration theories, which state that the adaptation of borrowed words and phrases starts with the most central elements, in these cases the noun heads, and proceeds towards more

peripheral ones, e.g. modifiers (Baetens Beardsmore, 1982; Myers-Scotton, 1993; Clyne, 2003).

From this perspective, hybrid compounds like those discussed above can be described as partly integrated borrowings, complete integration involving adjustment of both component words to Romanian writing and morphology. This process of integration or substitution is facilitated by the formal and semantic similarity existing between the native and the foreign word (Haugen, 1953; Weinreich, 1968), and since it is very clear for *babyschi, crash-teste, snack-baruri,* or *media-planuri,* we have no reason to posit a different mechanism for more ambiguous cases. As a consequence, formations such as *hard-disc, audiobook, videoplayer,* and *videochat* will be analysed as hybrids in this study.

As regards the various structural patterns blended compounds use, the noun + noun combination is by far the most commonly employed one, followed by adjective + noun and verb + noun combinations. Within the first group, the most frequent situation occurs when a nominal Anglicism modifier combines with a Romanian head. However, against Romanian conventions, these compounds have their semantic and grammatical head on the rightmost nominal element. The Anglicisms most frequently used as modifiers are *video, master,* and *media*. In other cases, the structure of these borrowings conforms to Romanian syntax, e.g. *brand-umbrelă, brand-mamă, vacanțe-bonusuri*. In detail, the table below shows the distribution of blended compounds across various structural patterns.

Pattern	Types	Examples
English modifier + Romanian head	19	*babyschi, focus-grup, masterfranciză, masterfrancizat, masterfrancizor, media-plan/ mediaplan, snack-bar, hard disc, hair-stilist, crash-teste*
English head + Romanian modifier	3	*brand-umbrelă, brand-mamă, spraypompă*
Romanian head + English modifier	1	*vacanțe-bonusuri*
Romanian modifier + English head	6	*audiobook, videochat, videostreaming, videoclip, videoplayer, schipass*

Table 4.10 Classification of blended compounds in *Capital* 2005 by structural type

Compounding accounts for the formation of a considerable number of English words in the *Capital* 2005 corpus, a situation which signals a departure from the norm of Romanian word formation. The frequency of occurrence and inflectional diversity of these words strongly individualize them within the class of borrowings. At the same time, since most of the borrowed compounds are juxtaposed constructions of the noun + noun type, it can be argued that their sustained presence in Romanian may effect some grammatical changes in the language, both at a syntactic level (word order) and at a morphological one (inflectional diversity).

CHAPTER V: THE MORPHOSYNTACTIC INTEGRATION OF BORROWINGS

5.1 Theoretical considerations regarding integration

It is generally assumed that words borrowed from one language into another are adapted to the system of the borrowing language, being manipulated so that they conform to its morphosyntactic rules, word-formation methods, phonology, and spelling (Bloomfield, 1933; Weinreich, 1968; Clyne, 1967, 2003; Myers-Scotton, 1993, 2002; Winford, 2003). Thus, integration is defined as the habitualization through repetition of certain instances of interference from one language into another (Hasselmo, 1970: 179) and seen as part of a threefold classification of language contact phenomena, with *codeswitching* being the use of successive stretches of the two languages, *interference* defined as their overlapping, and *integration* – the complete adaptation of items from one language to the phonology and morphology of the other. In terms of Haugen's (1950) distinction between *importation* and *substitution*, integration can be seen as a case of importation with phonological and morphological substitution.

As already shown in the discussion regarding code-switching, integration is a matter of degree, better described in gradient than in categorical terms. For example, Myers-Scotton (2006: 219) prefers to look at this process as a continuum ranging from fully integrated to totally unadapted words, rather than as a "done deal". Mackey (1970), too, remarks on the blurred line between a word's transitory status in the language, which he calls interference, and its entrenchment and establishment into the language, which he calls integration. Finally, Clyne refers to integration in terms of a centre–periphery continuum, "of how much the word is treated as part of

the recipient language and of how stable or variable its use is" (2003: 142).

Trying to define the upper end of this integration continuum, Grosjean believes that

> A loanword is finally accepted when it is no longer treated differently from other words in the language and when dictionaries, national academies, and influential writers accept it. It is then a loanword only in the historical sense. (Grosjean, 2001: 335)

He remarks, however, that only few borrowings in the speech of bilinguals are ever integrated into the language, the factors accounting for this high "mortality rate" being primarily structural and sociocultural (1998: 337). The first aspect has to do with the stability of the language as a morphosyntactic and phonological system which tends to reject new entries that will create homonymy or confusion. Socio-cultural factors, on the other hand, are related to variables such as the relative prestige of the two languages in contact, language loyalty, puristic attitudes, and other related factors. Thus, while adaptation of foreign material to the patterns of the recipient language is generally seen as the norm, it is also a highly idiosyncratic process which causes many borrowed words to have an uncertain linguistic status for some time after they are adopted into a language.

Another important characteristic of the integration process is its two-dimensional character. Although traditionally the linguistic criterion has received more attention, as it was believed that a loanword had to be adapted at every level of the recipient language before it could be considered fully assimilated, some writers have given a lot of attention to social factors too, recognizing that the linguistic integration of borrowed words is only one aspect of their assimilation into the language. Hasselmo (1967: 135) proposes to describe linguistic and social integration by two different terms–

adaptation and *adoption*–and uses the following scale to illustrate them:

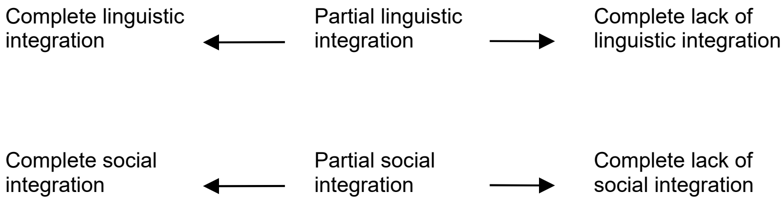


Figure 5.1 Adaptation (Hasselmo in Kelly, 1967: 135)

While recognizing the difficulties that appear in the study of these dimensions, Hasselmo draws attention to the fact that they are not always interrelated and can sometimes evolve in opposite directions:

> Complete linguistic adaptation is possible in the case of foreign identities that show a low degree of regularity of occurrence in the context of speech representing L1 and, conversely, items that show a high degree of regularity of occurrence in such a context may show a low degree, or even complete lack, of adaptation to L1. The higher the level of analysis, the more important this distinction becomes. Identities larger than words are often not subject to phonological and/or grammatical integration but it is not uncommon that they exhibit a degree of regularity of occurrence in the context of speech representing L1 that makes it necessary to speak of them as in some sense 'socially integrated'. (Hasselmo, 1967: 135)

Thus, a word may be socially integrated if it satisfies the criterion of frequency of use and speaker acceptance, even if it is not integrated linguistically. Moreover, some authors claim that a foreign element can be regarded as socially integrated from the moment of its entry into a language if this language does not have an equivalent for it (Grosjean, 2001).

Loanword integration has also been discussed from the perspective of the factors that influence it. In general, these factors can be broadly divided into structural, social, and psychological ones, although little agreement exists when it comes to assigning paramount importance to one category or another. Weinreich, for example, sees integration as being largely influenced by psychological and social factors rather than by structural ones, and proposes a separate line of analysis for them:

> Thus, a choice is often made by the speaker between integrating and non-integrating the transferred words–a choice which seems even more clearcut in the matter of grammar than in sounds. The choice itself would appear to depend not on the structures of the languages in contact, but rather on individual psychological and socio-cultural factors prevailing in the contact situation. These must be analyzed independently. (Weinreich, 1968: 46)

Hasselmo (1967: 135-136) also speaks of integration in terms of the binary choice a speaker has when introducing words from one language into the discourse of another: to preserve these words in their original form, or to adapt them to the structural patterns of the other language. Integration becomes in this way a matter of personal choice, a variable of such factors as attitude towards borrowing and bilingual ability, and it cannot be defined solely on linguistic grounds.

Other writers have tried to prove the prevalence of linguistic factors over social and psychological ones, arguing that borrowings behave differently in language pairs found under the influence of approximately the same set of socio-linguistic factors, but structurally different. For example, Treffers-Daller (2001) believes that the perceived equivalence or congruence between the integrated and unintegrated forms in two languages in contact can determine integration or, on the contrary, lack of it. She shows that the adaptation of French past participles differs in Dutch and German

because in the first language the difference between adapted (ex: *ge-march-eer-d*) and unadapted (*march-e*) forms is considerable, thus making integration rather obligatory, while in the second one the integrated and unintegrated forms can be considered to be more equivalent (ex: *arrang-ier-t* and *arrang-e*), and therefore integration is seen as more optional. Based on this, it is proposed that structural factors have an influence on qualitative differences in language contact patterns, while socio-linguistic factors can be a variable as regards quantitative differences between individual speakers.

The multitude and diversity of positions with regard to loanword integration indicate the highly complex and variable character of this process. This complexity results from the intricate interplay of several factors which compete against each other in the adaptation process, and which are generally recognized to be: the bilingual ability and language attitudes of the borrowing language speakers, the frequency of use, age of existence in the recipient language, and grammatical class of the borrowed words, and finally, the typology of the two languages in contact. These factors will be discussed in the following sections.

5.2 Factors influencing integration

5.2.1 Bilingual ability

It is generally believed that the bilingual ability of the borrowing language speakers plays a crucial role in the adaptation of foreign material to host language rules, and can be used to explain many of the irregularities that characterize mixed codes in general. Haugen (1953: 393-394) resorts to this factor in order to explain the vacillation displayed by some English loanwords in his Amer. Norwegian corpus, and puts forth a three-stage integration process comprising the following elements: *the pre-bilingual stage*, *the 'adult bilingual'*

stage, and *the stage of 'childhood bilingualism'*. In the first of these stages, foreign words are borrowed by a relatively small group of bilinguals and reproduced by monolinguals according to recipient language rules, resulting in a lot of irregularity or 'erratic substitution'; Haugen compares this integration routine to "the scattering of shots over the target by a novice marks man" (1953: 394). The 'adult bilingual' stage shows more systematicity in the production of loanwords, while the stage of 'childhood bilingualism' is characterized by a high level of bilingualism and the introduction of sound types from the source language.

An important characteristic of these stages is their possible coexistence in the same speech community, a situation which can considerably influence the integration process. Thus, a loanword is not safe from change, even when it has been fully assimilated into the recipient language, because of the process of "re-borrowing" or 'denativization' (Haugen, 1953). In a community where a foreign language is becoming increasingly important, this process involves the reintroduction in an unadapted form of already adapted words, presumably for extra-linguistic reasons.

Evidence of the correlation existing between loanword integration and level of proficiency in the source language comes from Bernsten and Myers-Scotton (1993) in a study of English loanwords in Shona. Analyzing the integration of English borrowings in this language, the authors find that only 35% of the borrowed words in their corpus are fully integrated by all speakers, while 20% of the loan types are totally unintegrated by all speakers; a third category consists of loans that are integrated by some speakers (8%), but unintegrated by others (37%). This situation is accounted for in terms of a high degree of bilingualism in the speech community, which results sometimes in doublets or pairs of words with a fully assimilated term and an unassimilated one. Moreover, it is explained in the larger framework of the general social profiles of

the speakers, such as degree of urbanization, educational level and gender, with urban, more educated people producing less integrated loans than other social categories.

Another aspect of the relationship between loanword integration and level of proficiency in the source language is the creation of some conventionalized patterns for the adaptation of foreign material entering a language under conditions of increased bilingualism. Various writers in the field (Backus, 1996; Baetens Beardsmore, 1982) have drawn attention to the results of such a situation: these special incorporation devices lead to the incomplete integration of foreign words, which in turn can result in diachronic change. An example in this respect is the verbal incorporation strategy involving a host language auxiliary which carries all the necessary verbal morphology and leaves the foreign verb unintegrated (Backus, 1996).

5.2.2 Frequency of use

It is generally assumed that the increase in the frequency with which a borrowed word is used is directly linked to its morphosyntactic and phonetic adaptation to the rules of the recipient language:

> (…) the more a particular term of foreign origin is used in the bilingual's speech (and also in that of the monoglot, too), the more integrated it must be. (Baetens Beardsmore, 1982: 44)

However, frequency is not always a reliable criterion for measuring integration, as there are cases when a foreign word is frequently used in a language but shows little or no morphophosyntactic integration. Moreover, as already shown in Chapter 1.2, the concept of frequency is rather vague and difficult to make more specific, what exactly makes a word frequent enough to count as a socially integrated lexeme being doomed to remain arbitrary. Poplack and Sankoff believe that "to measure frequency or degree it is necessary

to know not only the number of times an item occurred but also all the times it did not occur when it might have" (1984: 107); this is, they admit, a rather formidable undertaking for any study of language contact. Acceptability, or the number of people who use a given word, can also be impaired by subjective considerations such as the prestige attached to a certain language or the individual socio-linguistic profile of the speaker, so that it doesn't follow automatically that a word's large diffusion will guarantee its linguistic integration.

Despite all these drawbacks, frequency has proven to play an important role in the integration process. For example, in a study of English loanwords in French, Poplack et al. (1988) showed that only 85% of the nouns used by a single speaker were integrated morphologically with respect to number, as compared to 98.4% of words used by more than ten speakers. The same correlation was found between frequency and consistency of gender assignment, leading to the conclusion that a word's increased diffusion is strongly correlated with host language affixation. It will be shown later in this chapter that most aspects of the morphosyntacic integration of English borrowings in Romanian can be linked to this factor, which tends to influence them directly and almost categorically.

5.2.3 Time-depth

The phonological and morphological integration of borrowings is often correlated with time-depth, which means that the highest degree of integration is found in the oldest foreign words. Appel and Muysken (1987) argue that the integration process sometimes spreads across several generations, the degree of integration being generally indicative of the time of borrowing. Evidence to support this hypothesis comes from a study by Nortier and Schatz (1988, as cited in Boumans, 1998: 53), who compared the phonological and

morphological integration of foreign words from five language pairs, and found the highest degree of integration with the language pair in the longest contact (Spanish and Ecuadorean Quechua, dating back to the 16th century), and the lowest with the language pair in the shortest contact (Dutch and Moroccan Arabic in contact only since the 1960s).

However, Boumans (1998: 54) draws attention to the fact that this apparent rule applies only under certain social and historical circumstances, namely when the contact with the donor language weakens or disappears over time. In this case, the socio-linguistic facts of the contact situation are overridden by the internal laws of language stability which are responsible for the integration of loanwords in the first place. Integration can however slow down or even be reverted when, for economic or cultural reasons, the impact of the donor language increases in intensity. In this case, already integrated loans are replaced with more exact copies of the word, thus proving that the social constraints governing a contact situation can overrule the internal structural pressures exerted by the recipient language.

5.2.4 Language attitudes and other related factors

Another important factor which has been shown to influence the integration process is the attitude of the borrowing language speakers towards the donor language, more exactly whether they want or do not want to sound like the speakers of this language. Such attitudes can be promoted by certain values attached to foreign sounding or looking words, for example social prestige or fashion. This factor seems to play an important role in today's global linguistic environment, where English has become the international language of business and communication and is being increasingly perceived as modern and fashionable.

In a study of English–Marathi contact, Pandharipande (1990) shows that the non-adaptation of some foreign lexical items in her data fulfils an important social function, rendering the discourse more 'modern' and 'non-native', as the source of these foreign words (English) is illustrative of 'modern culture'. She further hypothesizes that the mixed code as such, not just the foreign material in it, becomes functionally active, being more similar to the guest code and more modern than the one with integrated English words. An important claim of the study is that this functional constraint overrides structural factors in the integration process, a foreign constituent's degree of adaptability to the host language structure being determined by its function in a given context. Registers such as informal conversations call for adaptation, while the discourse of modern technology, medicine, and other modern fields requires a mixed code with unadapted loans. In this way, register becomes a variable in the integration process.

The correlation between degree of integration and register has also been noted by Romanian writers studying English borrowings. For example, Stoichițoiu-Ichim (2001) remarks on a general tendency for contemporary Romanian to retain the original form of English words, especially in fields such as commerce, advertising, sports, or fashion:

> (...) termenii din domeniul comercial si publicitar, cei legați de modă, sport, etc.–din categoria împrumuturilor "de lux"–se păstrează neadaptați deoarece prestigiul şi sonoritatea cuvântului englezesc constituie, de regulă, unicul atu al prezenței lor în limbă. Un fapt semnificativ pentru rațiunile sociolingvistice ale neadaptării este că formele corupte, specifice limbii vorbite (ca *bişniță, blugi, badigard, ciungă*) nu apar niciodată în texte comerciale sau publicitare, unde sunt utilizate exclusiv formele *business, (blue)-jeans, body-guard, chewing-gum.* (Stoichitoiu-Ichim, 2001: 97)

5.2.5 Core vs cultural loanwords

Stoichițoiu-Ichim's (2001) observation regarding the different integration paths followed by "necessary" and "luxury" loans coincides with Myers-Scotton's (1993, 2002) proposal that the same factors promoting the adoption of forms for which the recipient language has an equivalent will trigger the non-integration of these loanwords. Thus, while cultural loans diverge from the original model earlier and more readily, core borrowings show a lower degree of conformity to host language rules. Such a situation occurs especially when the source language is the language of a group with more socio-economic prestige than that of the recipient language group, and can be part of what the same author has called 'elite closure', i.e. a group making their speech different from that of the masses, for example by producing loans as close to the originals as possible. It becomes thus evident that pragmatic considerations are sometimes at the back of the integration process, determining its direction and pace.

5.2.6 Word class

Another aspect that must be taken into account in any discussion of loanword integration is the close relationship between morphosyntactic adaptation and word class, with some classes (nouns and verbs) being more likely to be assimilated than others (adjectives, adverbs, etc). This categorial difference can be explained in terms of Hopper and Thompson's theory of word class centrality or periphery in the language (1984 as cited in Myers-Scotton, 1993: 183). The authors argue that nouns and verbs are the most central parts of a sentence, therefore carrying the most inflections in order to indicate their relationships with other words in the sentence. This is why morphological integration proceeds more rapidly in the case of heads (nouns and verbs) as opposed to modifiers (adverbs,

adjectives and other parts of speech), for which word order is often the only evidence of their integration into the host language.

Furthermore, Clyne (2003: 144) shows that integration may vary not only from one word class to another, but also within the same class. For example, in his corpus of English–German bilingual speech, words like *Carpenter* and *Plumber* are integrated into German by receiving the masculine gender marking on the article, but their plural may be unintegrated (-s), or integrated (zero); similarly, some verbs may be better integrated in their strong than in their weak form.

Evidence supporting the idea of loanword integration according to word class comes from several studies, although sometimes with contradictory results. For example, Boumans (1998) found that in his Morrocan Arabic–Dutch data nouns were more readily integrated than verbs and other parts of speech, while Heath (1989) showed that in French–Morrocan Arabic code-switching verbs were assimilated more completely than nouns. Such findings lead us to the conclusion that the word class criterion cannot be used independently of the particular contact situation which generates borrowing, structural aspects of the recipient language, together with different social and psychological factors, playing a very important role in the integration process.

5.2.7 Typology of languages in contact

The degree of integration is highly dependent on the structure of the languages in contact, with languages that rely heavily on morphology tending to integrate foreign words, and isolating languages tending not to (Clyne, 2003; Halmari, 1997). This becomes obvious when approaching integration from a cross-linguistic perspective. Thus, in a comparative study of Moroccan Arabic and Turkish as immigrant languages in the Netherlands, Boumans (1998) found considerable differences between the two languages in terms

of the mechanisms used to integrate Dutch words. While Turkish, which is an agglutinative language, is highly productive with Dutch nouns, marking them for number, case, possession, and derivation, Dutch nouns used in Moroccan Arabic are subject to hardly any morphological process.

The analysis of the factors responsible for loanword integration leads to several important conclusions. Firstly, no single factor can be used to explain this process, although some factors are more important than others. This prevalence is, however, subject to considerable cross-linguistic variation. Secondly, given the intricate way in which these factors combine and vary from one contact situation to another, it is very difficult to postulate any universal theory of integration. The interplay of determining factors is highly dependent on the specificity of the languages in contact, and even for the same language pair can change considerably from one time period to another. The description of integration should therefore proceed in gradient rather than in categorical terms.

5.3 Noun integration

As shown in Chapter 4.1, nouns form the largest class of English borrowings in the corpus of *Capital* 2005, their representation in the total of borrowed words exceeding by more than three times the representation of Romanian nouns in monolingual discourse. Among the various points of contact between nominal Anglicisms and the Romanian morphological system, gender assignment, plural formation, and genitive/dative case marking constitute the most prominent aspects of their integration into the recipient language.

5.3.1 Gender

5.3.1.1 General considerations on gender assignment

While recognizing the prevalence of grammatical adaptation over other forms of linguistic integration, Weinreich (1968: 45) draws attention to the fact that of particular interest are those cases when the recipient language offers several possibilities for the integration of foreign words, for example different genders and verb conjugations. One of the most interesting and often studied aspects of loanword morphological integration is the assignment of gender to nouns and adjectives, especially when these are borrowed into inflected languages from uninflected ones. The special interest in this process is motivated by the fact that gender constitutes a very intriguing subject of study in itself, Fodor (1959: 1) characterizing it as “one of the still unsolved puzzles of linguistic science”. Poplack, Pousada and Sankoff (1982) believe that at the heart of this unsolved puzzle is the problem of gender origin, the two main candidates, semantics and syntax, contributing in very complicated ways to the assignment and function of this grammatical category. They remark on another difficulty in finding a satisfactory answer to gender-related questions, namely

> (…) the fact that it is not clear whether any given noun has its specific gender by virtue of its synchronic phonological, syntactic and/or semantic properties, or simply because this gender was transmitted by previous generations of speakers of the language. (Poplack et al., 1982: 3)

Given this thorny picture of gender in general, the study of its ongoing and ‘live’ assignment to borrowed nouns can be a valuable window into its intricate and secret mechanisms, although it cannot hope to solve the formal/semantic dichotomy in a satisfactory way. Thus, Haugen warns:

> Some investigators have hoped to throw some light on the origin of gender; but it seems more likely that this study can do no more than tell us something about the present-day function of gender in these languages. As with other theories concerning the operation of borrowing, we cannot check the mental processes of the speakers. Where several factors have operated, we have no good way of saying which one was the most important. (Haugen, 1953: 441)

An element which can influence the choice of gender in borrowed nouns is the structural make-up of the source language. Thus, when nouns are borrowed from a language distinguishing different genders, and the recipient language speakers are familiar with the gender system of the donor language, there is a tendency for this to be preserved in loanwords as well. For example, Treffers-Daller (1994) shows that 80% of the nouns borrowed from French preserve their gender in Brussels Dutch, while Băncilă and Chițoran (1982: 414) remark on a tendency for Romanian to include borrowed nouns of French origin into the masculine gender class, where French uses this gender.

However, structural factors are governed by social and cultural ones, such as degree of bilingualism, language attitudes, and educational background of the speakers using the loanwords. For example, studying the French–Dutch contact situation in Brussels, Baetens Beardsmore (1971: 54) shows that the socio-cultural background of the speaker plays an important role in the general process of loanword integration, determining whether and to what degree the speaker is influenced by the source or the receiving language in his choice of gender.

In addition to speakers' bilingual ability and typology of the languages in contact, there are a number of other very important factors which compete against each other in the assignment of gender to borrowed nouns. Those most often cited in the literature (Weinreich, 1968; Haugen, 1953; Baetens Beardsmore, 1971; Poplack

et al., 1982; Băncilă and Chițoran, 1982; Constantinescu et al., 2004; Clyne 2003) are:

a) the physiological sex of the (animate) referent;

Thus, *cowboy* and *body-guard* are masculine in Romanian because they refer almost exclusively to male individuals.

b) the phonological shape of the borrowed noun and its association with a phonological shape in the host language, requiring a certain gender;

This phonological requirement bars the assignment of feminine gender to consonant ending nouns in Romanian, even when the animate referents of such nouns are prototypically feminine.

c) association with a synonym or semantic equivalent in the host language, usually referred to as analogical gender.

For example, *blugi* and *jeanşi* are masculine by analogy with *pantaloni*, *briefcase* is feminine by analogy with *servietă*, *dolar, cent, şiling* are masculine by analogy with *leu* and *ban,* and *iard* and *inch* receive masculine gender by analogy with *metru* (Băncilă and Chițoran, 1982; Stoichițoiu-Ichim, 2001). Similarly, *mouse* sometimes receives masculine gender in spite of its semantic feature [-animate], probably on the model of the Romanian *şoarece*. A particular sub-case of this situation is when a loanword takes on the gender of its recipient language equivalent, which it displaces altogether. Thus, Weinreich (1968: 45) shows that in Pennsylvania German *bailer 'boiler'* is masculine because it replaced *kesel (m)*, while *pidger 'picture'* is neuter because it replaced *bild (n)*.

d) association with a host language homophone;

In Australian German *der Hydrant* leads to *der fire hydrant* and *der Markt* leads to *der market*, sometimes contamination between words taking place even when there is no relation in meaning: *der lightpole– der Pole* (Clyne, 1967: 43). Similarly, we believe that the Romanian *centru* is partly responsible for the assignment of the neuter gender to the borrowed *call-center*, *buton* supports the allocation to the

neuter class of *ibutton,* while *brand (aruncător de mine, pumn)* combines with phonological factors in leading to the neuter gender of *brand* (*marcă*), even if the two words are completely unrelated in meaning.

e) association of a borrowed suffix with a suffix in the recipient language requiring a certain gender;

Haugen (1953: 445) notices that some of the loanwords in his Amer. Norwegian corpus are assigned the masculine gender because they end in –*n,* which is taken to be the definite article. Pfaff (1979: 305) also finds that borrowed English nouns ending in *-er* and *-ity* are given feminine gender by Spanish/English bilinguals because of the resemblance of these suffixes to *-a* and *-idad* in Spanish.

f) the tendency for loanwords to take on the so called 'unmarked' gender of the host language.

Haugen (1953: 448) remarks on a tendency in the English words employed in Amer. Norwegian to take on the masculine gender, Pap (1979) finds the same situation for American Portuguese, while Aron (as cited in Haugen 1953: 441) notices a feminine tendency in American German due to the similarity between *the* and *die*. Romanian tends to include most of its nominal borrowings from English into the neuter gender, approximately 70% according to most authors (Băncilă and Chițoran, 1982; Manolescu, 1999; Constantinescu et al., 2004; Ciobanu, 2004).

It is evident from the discussion so far that the assignment of grammatical gender is placed at the intersection of several socio-linguistic and structural factors, the former regarded by some researchers as causing variability at the individual level, while the latter "reveal themselves as a question of 'langue'" (Baetens Beardsmore, 1971). Their complex interplay renders any deterministic approach to the gender problem untenable, especially since the weight held by one or several of these factors in the total will vary extensively across languages. Thus, the factors governing

gender assignment seem to be language specific rather than universal, as they follow from the particularities of the host language, borrowed nouns largely conforming to the same constraints that apply to native nouns.

Support to the idea of gender allocation variability across languages comes from a contrastive study on gender assignment to English words in Montreal French and Puerto Rican Spanish (Poplack et al., 1982). The authors show that same-language words receive different genders depending on the requirements imposed by the recipient language. Thus, the criterion of phonological shape is more important in Puerto Rican Spanish than in Montreal French, whereas assigning the unmarked gender to loanwords is more frequent in Montreal French than in Puerto Rican Spanish. In both cases, however, the allocation of nouns to different gender classes does not disrupt in any way the inflectional systems of the recipient language, as the phonological criterion is the main rule in the allocation of gender to monolingual material in Spanish, whereas in French other factors such as analogical gender and suffixal analogy are more important elements in the gender equation.

Another aspect of gender allocation is its occasional variability at the level of a single word. For example, Haugen (1953: 442) found that more than 18% of the total of nouns in his Amer. Norwegian corpus showed variable gender, even when they were quite widespread and established. The same situation was noted for German, Clyne (1967: 43-44) remarking that *car* is masculine for some German–English bilinguals and neuter for others, *language* can be feminine or neuter, and *shop* can be masculine or neuter. Stoichițoiu-Ichim (2001) and Constantinescu et al. (2004) show that some English loans in Romanian display a lot of vacillation with regard to gender: *baby sitter* can be masculine or feminine, *party* and *story* can be either feminine or neuter, *pampers* is sometimes masculine and other times neuter, to give just a few examples.

Referring to variable gender, Poplack and Sankoff (1984) suggest that usually such inconsistencies are resolved in one of the following ways: either one variant wins over the other and becomes the norm in the speech community, or both variants survive, each gender acquiring a specialized meaning.

The discussion on gender has shown that the assignment of this category to loanwords tends to be language-specific. Moreover, social and linguistic factors compete against each other in ways that can lead to variation at the level of the same language, and sometimes even at the level of the same word. The idiosyncratic character of gender assignment in contact situations was summized by Winford as follows:

> On the whole, it is clear that no single general rule applies to the way gender is assigned to borrowed nouns from one contact situation to another. The interplay of linguistic and social factors may vary considerably from one case to another, yielding different results. (Winford, 2003: 50)

The Romanian literature offers several similar points of view on the allocation of gender to nouns borrowed from English. Stoichițoiu-Ichim (2001) identifies three main elements that are likely to influence this process: the etymological factor, the semantic factor, and the formal factor, of which the most productive one, she argues, is the last one. This means that most English borrowings are included into one of the three gender classes of Romanian based on their ending, the semantic criterion applying only when nouns with animate referents receive the natural gender of these referents. Băncilă et al. (1982), Avram (1997), and Constantinescu et al. (2004) also note that grammatical gender corresponds to the natural gender for animate nouns, while inanimate nouns, especially neologisms, are often neuter, although some of them are also integrated by the masculine and the feminine paradigms. Based on the analysis of a 400 words corpus, Băncilă et al. conclude:

> Judging by our corpus, we would be inclined to consider the semantic features of sex and animateness of primary importance in the adaptation of English loan-words to the morpho-phonemic patterns of Romanian. The prevalence of semantics in the morphological adaptation is facilitated by the developed homonymy of endings marking the masculine and neuter gender in Romanian. (Bancila et al., 1982: 414)

The following section looks at the way in which English nominal borrowings receive their gender in the corpus of *Capital* 2005, with an emphasis on the quantitative distribution of borrowed words across the three gender classes of Romanian. Qualitative aspects, such as the factors that can be used to explain this distribution and how these factors relate to each other, will also be discussed.

5.3.1.2 Gender assignment to English loanwords in Romanian

Romanian has a three-gender system, distinguishing masculine, feminine, and neuter. Although in most cases words ending in consonants are masculine or neuter, while nouns ending in *-ă* or *-e* require feminine gender, the three genders are distinguished only by their membership to different inflectional classes (number, case) rather than by the specific allomorphs in their basic forms. Moreover, there is a great deal of homonymy between various inflectional paradigms of gender in Romanian, as shown by the following phonological rules for gender assignment (Constantinescu et al., 2004).

Gender	Sing.	Plural	Example
Masc.	cons.	-i [ⁱ]	*pom/pomi 'tree'*
	-e	-i [ⁱ]	*câine/câini 'dog'*
	-i [j]	-i [j]	*ardei/ardei 'red pepper'*
Fem.	-ă [ə]	-e	*casă/case 'house'*
	-e	-i [ⁱ]	*mare/mari 'sea'*
	-ă [ə]	-i [ⁱ]	*gară/gări 'station'*
	-a [a]	-le	*stea/stele 'star'*
	Vocal	-uri [urⁱ]	*mătase/mătăsuri 'silk'*
Neuter	cons/ -u [w]	-uri [urⁱ]	*loc/locuri 'place'*
			birou/birouri 'desk'
	cons	-e	*scaun/scaune 'chair'*

Table 5.1 Gender paradigms in Romanian (Constantinescu et al., 2004: 180)

In addition to being morphologically marked, Romanian gender is also required syntactically on words such as articles, most adjectives, demonstratives, possessives, and participial verbs. Determining gender based on modifiers poses the same problems as those encountered with inflected heads, as masculine and neuter forms show strong homonymy in the singular, while the feminine and the neuter have homonymous plural forms.

As a result of these formal ambiguities, it is not always possible to determine the gender of borrowed nouns, even if similar cases in the language would suggest a particular solution. This is why borrowings occurring only in the singular or only in the plural in our corpus were initially left out of the analysis as being inconclusive. All cases of inconclusive-gender words in the 2005 corpus were further searched in the other seven years of the magazine. It was thus possible to determine the gender of 801 types (13,592 tokens), constituting approximately two thirds of the borrowed nouns in the corpus.

The borrowings for which gender could not be established based on the eight-year corpus were marked as 'unknown' and left out of the statistical and qualitative analysis that followed. Such cases of borrowed words which do not show gender include nouns following prepositions as in (1) and (2), as well as nouns functioning as post-modifiers of Romanian heads as in (3), (4) and (5), or as generic titles after the verb 'a numi' as in (6):

(1) … este directorul celui mai puternic grup de ADVOCACY din România, care promovează interesele de afaceri …
'... She is the manager of Romania's most powerful group of advocacy (advocacy group), which promote business interests ….'

(2) … este clar că fără ADVICE/CONSULTATION nu vor ajunge departe, ….
'… it is clear that they will not get far without advice/consultation ….'

(3) Astfel, compania are în portofoliu, (…) 48% din cele 7.650 de panouri BILLBOARD de pe piață ….
'Thus, the company's portfolio includes 48% of the 7,650 billboard panels on the market ….'

(4) Telefonul este de tip CLAMSHELL şi dispune de o cameră opțională.
'The phone is of a clamshell type (It is a clamshell phone), and it has an optional camera. '

(5) Chartul alăturat reprezintă evoluția RRC în format CANDLEVOLUME ….
'The chart shows the RRC evolution in candlevolume format ….'

(6) Procedeul se numeşte BUNDLE.
'The procedure is called bundle. '

We believe that sometimes a word does not show gender as a compromise strategy the writer uses in order to avoid choosing between several competing influences on its assignment. For example, the borrowed compound *middle-class* should be neuter based on formal and semantic grounds, but feminine based on analogical and homonymic considerations. Since this contradiction is not easily resolved, this noun never shows definiteness and is never

accompanied by gender carriers, even when the sentence requires such elements:

> (7) … persoanele care încheie în mod constant polițe RCA au studii superioare, aparțin MIDDLE CLASS şi conştientizează importanța asigurărilor în viața cotidiană.
> '… people who frequently purchase third-party insurance policies have a university degree, belong to *middle-class** (the middle-class), and are aware of the importance of insurance in everyday life. '

The statistical analysis of gender assignment to English nouns in *Capital* 2005 reveals the following situation:

Gender	Types	Tokens	% of the total (types)
Neuter	569	11,570	71.2%
Masculine	192	1,760	23.9%
Feminine	38	260	4.7%
Variable	2	2	0.2%
No. of nouns showing gender	801	13,592	100%

Table 5.2 Gender assignment to nominal Anglicisms in *Capital* 2005

A large number of borrowings falling into the masculine class have retained the English suffix *-er/-or/-ar* and are semantically marked as [+ animate], most of them designating professions rather than having male referents. With the exception of *cowboy*, which belongs to sub-class 3 of Table 5.1, all the other borrowed nouns that have been assigned masculine gender end in a consonant. Examples include: *advertiser, broadcaster, carrier, discounter, broker, copywriter, dealer, d.j., freelancer, investor, leader, manager, marketer, planner, merchandiser, promoter, provider, registrar, retailer, supervisor, tour-operator, trader, trainer, user.* Other cases of masculine borrowings are represented by nouns carrying the semantic feature [+ male], such as

body-guard, cowboy, compounds formed with *man* and *master*, e.g. *businessman, congressman, gentleman, salesman, webmaster*, as well as nouns derived with the suffixes *-ist* and *-and,* e.g. *lobbyist, ISP-ist, PR-ist, retailist, softist, masterand.* A few names of animals and several nouns marked as [-animate] are also assigned masculine gender, e.g. *cocker, retriever, hamburger, blue-jeansi*.

While in some cases the inclusion of a borrowed noun into the masculine class is the result of an analogy with its Romanian equivalent, *e.g. blue-jeanşi* cf. *pantaloni, inchi* cf. *metri*, in other cases the mechanism leading to this gender allocation is not very clear. For example, why is *hamburgher* masculine, when all the other [-animate] *–er* ending nouns in the corpus are neuter? This example can be seen as instancing an exceptional prevalence of the formal criterion of gender assignment over the more general semantic one. However, why this prevalence is manifested with some words but not with others is not clear, lending credibility to Poplack et al.'s (1982: 25) claim that gender is sometimes allocated by chance, and then becomes established by mere dint of repetition.

English nominal borrowings that are assigned feminine gender are best represented in our corpus by words containing the Romanian derivational morpheme *–are: accesare, clonare, marketare, printare, rebrandare, scanare, sponsorizare, targetare, updatare, upgradare*. Several of the nouns in this class are marked as [+feminine] in English, e.g. *hostesă*< *hostess* present in the corpus with its plural form *hostese*, while others are compounds formed with *woman-businesswoman*. Finally, two nouns obtain feminine gender as a result of their analogy with a Romanian equivalent: *exit* cf. *ieşire* and *PSP* cf. *consolă*:

> (8) Randamentul anual al investiției (în ipoteza unei EXIT peste zece ani) este mai mic decât în cazul investiției în acțiunile companiei A …
> 'The annual return on investment (assuming an exit in ten years) is lower than that on an investment in company A …'

(9) Sony ar putea să amâne lansarea pe piața europeană a mult aşteptatei PSP—consola de jocuri portabilă.
'Sony might postpone the launching on the European market of the much expected PSP—the portable game console.'

Other times the feminine gender results from the *–ă* suffixation of nouns originally borrowed as masculines (*manager/manageră, clon/clonă*).

The scarcity of feminine nouns in the corpus of *Capital* 2005 can be explained in terms of the relative strength of epicene gender in Romanian. Thus, in the presence of the semantic feature [+ animate] but without any further specification for sex, nouns designating professions are automatically assigned masculine gender. The language used to speak about the economy is a good environment for the occurrence of such dual gender nouns, which sometimes do not even refer to individuals, but to whole organizations or groups of people. The application of this rule is almost categorical, sometimes leading to clashes between the morphological gender as marked on the noun and the biological gender of the human referent of this noun:

(10) După o selecție foarte atent facută a participanților, am organizat intâlniri bilaterale, multe dintre ele de mare succes, a spus Anca C., MATCHMAKERUL evenimentului.
'After a careful selection of participants, we organized bilateral meetings, many of them very successful, said Anca C., the event matchmaker.'

Another explanation for the low representation of feminine nouns in the studied corpus is the fact that most words in this class are morphologically adapted, being derived with the native suffixes *–are* and *–ă* (*manageră, clonă*). However, since derivation does not take place in the early stages of a foreign word's existence in the language, and since this study is based on recent borrowings, it is in a way natural that few of the borrowed nouns in the corpus are

feminine. Those rare cases when feminine gender applies to consonant-ending nouns (*exit* and *PSP)* are isolated and paralleled by neuter gender as well.

A large proportion of the nouns in the corpus have been assimilated by the neuter class, most of them ending in a consonant and being marked as [- animate]. Many of these nouns are formed with *–er* (*blockbuster, banner, browser, driver, marker, player, scanner, best seller, voucher)* or *–ing* (*training, piercing, quilting, rating, scoring, parking, leasing, living, dressing, camping, branding).* An interesting case is the compound *soap-opera*, which, in spite of its ending, does not receive feminine gender, being preceded by the indefinite article *un*. In this case, analogical gender (*serial*) is for some reason stronger than the joint influence of phonological factors (vowel-ending nouns are mostly feminine in Romanian) and homonymy (the existence of the native feminine *operă):*

(11) În Vest, rulează un lungmetraj cu accente melodramatice, iar în Est un SOAP-OPERA.
'A movie with melodramatic touches is on in the West, and a soap-opera in the East. '

From a semantic point of view, nouns assigned neuter gender can refer to economic activities, results of activities, or processes (*brainstorming, business, discount, feed-back, game, offshoring, leasing, lifting, piercing, rating, sitcom, swap, summit, talk-show, training, up-date, upgrade),* types of organizations, groups of people, or places *(board, call-center, dotcom, duty-free, hypermarket, mall, offshore, panel, parking, shop, staff, start-up, trust),* types of products or other similar concrete things *(ad, airbag, ATM, banner, blog, bonus, card, chart, bond, flyer, gadget, headline, laptop, newsletter, no-name, notebook , offroad, office, palmtop, palm, spoiler, spot).*

Finally, a low proportion of the borrowed nouns in the corpus show variable gender assignment. One such example is *exit*, which, in addition to the feminine form presented in example (8) above, also

receives neuter gender, being used with the indefinite article *un/unui* or the definite article *-l*.

> (12) Nu am programat un EXIT în urma listării la Bursă, ci dezvoltarea afacerii,…
> ’We have not planned an exit following the flotation of the company, but the development of the business, …’

While the feminine noun is used only once in the corpus, the neuter one has eight occurrences, thus suggesting that gender vacillation in borrowings decreases as their frequency of use increases. The example provided by *exit* also seems to confirm Poplack et al.’s prediction regarding the eventual prevalence of one variant over the other in cases of variable gender assignment. The other noun showing variable gender is *item*, which can be both masculine and neuter *(itemi, itemuri)*.

Based on the distribution of nominal Anglicisms in *Capital* 2005 across the three gender classes of Romanian, we have tried to draw some conclusions regarding the role of various factors discussed in the literature as influencing gender assignment to borrowed nouns. The criterion of physiological sex seems to have an overarching role in the way borrowings receive their gender. Thus, when the borrowed nouns contain some inherent semantic features of animateness and sex, gender is assigned according to the requirements imposed by these features. As a result of this influence *cowboy, bodyguard, congressman, gentleman* and *businessman* are always masculine, while *businesswoman* is always feminine.

The phonological criterion is almost always governed by the semantic one, a relation which is obvious when words having the same ending receive different genders on semantic grounds. Thus, all but one [+animate] *-er* ending nouns are assigned masculine gender, while all but one [- animate] *-er* ending nouns are assigned neuter gender. The exception to the first rule is the compound *baby-sitter*, which, although usually having a feminine referent, is given

masculine gender, while the second rule is broken by the word *hamburgheri,* which obtains masculine gender in spite of its being semantically neuter.

We believe that the assignment of masculine gender to the compound *baby-sitter* illustrates the occasional prevalence of the formal criterion over the semantic one, thus blocking feminine gender in a consonant-ending noun. However, why this prevalence is manifested in some cases but not in others is not very clear, lending support to Poplack et al.'s (1982: 25) suggestion that none of the linguistic factors discussed in the literature completely determines gender assignment, this process being a variable one. We believe that the masculine gender of *baby-sitter* results from its lack of integration, which is rooted in an increasing intensity of contact between English and Romanian. The case of *inchi* is even easier to explain. The masculine gender of this word is obviously supported by the masculine gender of the more established *inci*, in addition to being analogically motivated by the equilavent *metru/metri*.

An example proving the overarching role of semantics in gender allocation to borrowed nouns in Romanian is provided by *businesswoman,* which is feminine in spite of its consonant ending. This example confirms Poplack et al.'s (1982) findings regarding the categorical role of physiological factors in gender assignment, where such factors exist.

Analogical gender seems to be only peripherally important in the studied corpus, being clearly overridden by semantic and formal factors. Thus, out of all the instances when a Romanian translation equivalent could be found to a borrowed word, this equivalent influenced the process of gender assignment in only three cases: *exit* cf. *ieşire, PSP* cf. *consolă, soap-opera* cf. *serial*. In the other cases when the analogical criterion seems to be active, it can be argued that this is only because it does not come in contradiction with the phonological criterion: *shop, hypermarket, mall* cf. *magazin, staff* cf.

personal, show cf. *spectacol* , *office* cf. *birou, chart* cf. *grafic, barter* cf. *troc, ATM* cf. *bancomat, charter* cf. *avion, etc*.

In those situations when the formal and the analogical criteria conflict, the first one almost always wins: *bonus/bonusuri* (neuter) but *primă/prime* (feminine), *brand/branduri* (neuter) but *marcă/mărci* (feminine), *card/carduri* (neuter) but *cartelă/cartele* (feminine), *discount/discounturi* (neuter) but *reducere/reduceri* (feminine), *dotcom/dotcomuri, offshore /offshoreuri, start-up /start-up-uri* (neuter) but *companie/companii* (feminine), *update/updateuri* (neuter) but *actualizare/actualizări* (feminine), *newsletter/newslettere* (neuter) but *revistă/reviste* (feminine), *trend/trenduri* (neuter) but *tendință/tendințe* (feminine), *etc.* Sometimes, the contrast between the analogical criterion and the phonological one is evident in the use of a borrowed noun alongside its native equivalent. For example, the use of the feminine 'gogoaşă' (doughnut) immediately following the neuter 'bubble' in the sentence below illustrates the weakness of analogical gender in Romanian:

> (13) Creşterea economiei americane va fi şi în 2005 sănătoasă, deşi analiştii mențin avertizările privind sustenabilitatea ei, în condițiile unui "BUBBLE" (gogoaşă) a prețurilor pe piața imobiliară.
> 'American economic growth will continue to be strong in 2005, although analysts are sceptical about its sustainablity in the context of a real estate bubble.'

Although it is not very clear how analogical gender interacts with homophonous gender, or which tends to overrule the other (although we have one example in which analogy seems to be stronger than homophony–the neuter *soap opera* vs the feminine *operă*), our data leads us to the following hierarchy of factors determining gender assignment to English borrowings in Romanian:
a) semantic factors: the sex of the (animate) referent dictates the gender of the borrowed noun, while nouns without an animate referent are usually assigned neuter gender.

b) phonological factors: the form of the word determines gender assignment, but this is overruled by a) above;
c) analogical factors: the gender of a native equivalent determines the gender of the borrowed noun in a very few number of cases;
d) homophonous factors: the gender of the native homophone may determine the gender of a borrowed noun, although whenever this happens it can be argued that at least one of the other factors listed above has been active, too.

The analysis of gender assignment to English nouns recently borrowed into Romanian has shown that this process is a complex and sometimes idiosyncratic one. Thus, the assignment of feminine gender to consonant-ending nouns and the inclusion of *ă*-ending nouns into the neuter class place the borrowings in question outside the Romanian linguistic norm, proving that neither phonological nor semantic factors can be used by themselves to explain this aspect of loanword integration. We believe that psycho-social factors, such as bilingual ability in the source language and loanword diffusion across the speech community, combine with purely linguistic factors in determining gender assignment to recent Anglicisms in Romanian.

5.3.2 Number

Another important aspect of the integration of recent Anglicisms in Romanian is plural inflection. When an English noun with a plural referent is used in Romanian discourse, the writer has four possible strategies available: to follow Romanian rules for plural marking, to preserve the English plural affix, to use a double plural, both English and Romanian, or to leave the word uninflected for number altogether. The table below shows the proportion held by each of these strategies in the total of borrowed nouns with plural referents.

Plural formation	Types	%	Tokens	%	Frequency (tokens/types)
Romanian plural	453	90.96%	3,296	94.82%	7.27
English plural	22	4.42%	129	3.71%	5.86
Double plural	4	0.80%	9	0.26%	2.25
Bare plural	19	3.82%	42	1.21%	2.21
Total	498	100%	3,476	100%	6.98

Table 5.3 Anglicism plural formation in *Capital* 2005

Each of these plural formation patterns will be discussed separately in the following sections.

5.3.2.1 Romanian plural marking

Out of the total of 1,296 borrowed nouns in the corpus, 498 have plural referents, Romanian rules for plural marking being used in the vast majority of these cases. Moreover, the table above shows that nouns formed with Romanian morphemes have a higher repetition rate than those using the English plural morpheme.

Neuter borrowings form the plural by suffixation with *-uri*, which can be either hyphenated (e.g. *deal-uri, discount-uri, dressing-uri*) or fused to the stem (e.g. *discounturi, branduri, bonduri, businessuri),* as well as with *-e* (e.g. *browsere, drivere, markere, masterate, newslettere*). Although *-e* tends to be used with *–er* ending nouns more than *-uri*, the distribution of borrowed nouns across these two inflectional subclasses of the neuter gender remains somehow arbitrary, in several cases both plural endings occurring after the same English suffix (e.g. *bestselleruri* and *blockbustere)*. However, we agree with Băncilă and Chițoran's (1976: 42) formal constraint, which proposes that the choice between *-uri* and *-e* is phonologically motivated by the need to avoid consonant alternations. Thus, *-ing*

ending nouns never use the *-e* plural in order to avoid the alternations /k-tʃ/ and /g-dʒ/.

Masculine nouns form the plural by adding the suffix *-i*, e.g. *advertiseri, baby-sitteri, bloggeri, brokeri, copywriteri, dealer, designeri*. This suffix is also added to borrowed compounds containing the word *man*, sometimes triggering a vowel change from *a* to *e* inside this word (e.g. *businessmeni, congressmeni, gentlemeni*). In other cases, this change does not take place, as for example in *salesmani*, or when the genitive form is used (e.g. *congressman-ilor*).

The palatalization of the final consonant in plural words is very common in Romanian (Guțu-Romalo (coord.), 2005 I: 79). In our corpus, plural noun formation in *-i* involves the following consonant alternations: *d*>*z* as in *bodyguard–bodyguarzi, masterand–masteranzi,* and *s*>*ş* as in *lobbyist–lobbyişti, retailist–retailişti, softist–softişti, ISP-ist–ISP-işti*.

Finally, feminine nouns use the plural suffixes *-i* (accompanied by the vowel alternation *a*>*ă* as in *accesare–accesări, sponsorizare–sponsorizări*) and *-e* (e.g. *hostese, clone, subsidiare*).

5.3.2.2 English plurals and double plurals

A special situation in our data is represented by those borrowed nouns which retain the English plural morpheme. Even if the proportion held by these nouns is relatively low, both in the total of borrowed nouns (less than 2%) and in the total of nouns with plural referents (4.41%), the use of an English inflectional morpheme in Romanian discourse is a theoretically interesting aspect which deserves a more detailed analysis.

The *-s* ending does not carry the same structural weight in all the cases when it is present. Thus, some of the nouns using it refer to concepts best represented as collective or mass entities, and have been borrowed as lexicalized units in which the plural affix is not functionally active. The functional irrelevance of the English plural is

proven by the fact that a Romanian plural morpheme doubles it, leading to tautological formations such as *chipsuri, jeanşi, snacks-uri, tools-uri:*

(14) Dar consumul susținut de alimente procesate, de la SNACKS-URI la hamburgheri, se traduce în creşterea rapidă a greutății.
'But long-term consumption of processed foods, from snacks to hamburgers, is translated into rapid weight gain.'

(15) Iar TOOLS-URILE Microsoft sunt evident optimizate pentru Windows …
'And the Microsoft tools are obviously optimized for Windows …'

An intermediary stage between such tautological formations and more relevant cases of English functional plurals is represented by borrowed nouns typically occurring in the plural, but which are not doubled by Romanian morphemes. Examples in this respect include *futures, options, darts, watersports*:

(16) Foarte probabil, tranzacționarea de derivate va continua să ofere idei noi de contracte FUTURES sau OPTIONS, …
'Most likely, derivative trading will continue to provide new ideas for futures and options contracts, …'

(17) Telefonul are cameră video VGA integrată, (…), 3D GAMES, organizator.
'The phone has an integrated VGA video camera, (…), 3D games, an organizer.'

(18) … există şi varianta practicării unor sporturi de club, cum ar fi DARTS, popice, biliard şi tenis de masă.
'… there is also the possibility of practicing club sports, such as darts, bowling, billiards, and table tennis. '

(19) … tânărul milionar braşovean ne-a mai spus că intenționează să îşi extindă baza turistică pe care o posedă şi să lanseze un nou produs: WATERSPORTS.
'... the young millionaire from Brasov told us that he was going to expand his tourist center and launch a new product: watersports. '

In some cases, the role of the *-s* morpheme in marking plurality is syntactically supported by the agreement shown by various modifiers in the sentence:

> (20) Televiziunile au livrat multe GRPs (GROSS RATING POINTS), …
> 'Televisions delivered many GRPs (Gross Rating Points), …'

The most interesting cases are, however, those in which the English plural appears on words not designating collective or mass entities. We believe that in such cases the tie between the stem and the plural morpheme is less entrenched than in the examples presented above, the presence of this inflectional affix in Romanian being therefore more significant from a structural point of view. For example, the borrowings in the sentences below are listed in the dictionary with their singular forms, plurality being only one of the two options writers have at their disposal. Its choice indicates an increased level of awareness regarding the compositional nature of these borrowed words, being supported by other elements in the sentence, e.g. parallel plural constructions:

> (21) Intel (…) intenționează să crească nivelul de calitate al software-ului şi soluțiilor care permit obținerea de linii de produse, TOOLS, investiții si programe, …
> 'Intel (…) is going to increase the quality of its software and solutions allowing the acquisition of product lines, tools, investments and programmes, …'

> (22) Un alt mod foarte eficient de promovare a bursei este organizarea intensivă de ROAD-SHOWS (prezentări gen turneu) atât pe plan intern cât şi în străinătate.
> 'Another very efficient way to promote the stock exchange is the intensive organization of road-shows (tour presentations), both in the country and abroad.'

> (23) … automobiliştii americani vor renunța la SUVs, îndreptându-se tot mai mult spre maşini cu consum de combustibil mai eficient, …
> 'American drivers will walk away from SUVs, choosing more fuel-efficient cars, …'

The presence of the English plural on words borrowed in Romanian is not a recent development in the contact between the two languages. Its presence has been discussed quite extensively in the Romanian literature on borrowing (Bota, 1978; Băncilă and Chițoran, 1976; Manolescu, 1999; Ciobanu, 2004; Constantinescu et al., 2004), especially with regard to tautological formations involving both the English and the Romanian plural suffix. For example, in a 1978 article Bota (1978: 37) offers several examples of such double plurals (*bedgesuri, slums-uri, singlesuri, sticksuri, bluejeansi*) and two examples of nouns in which the English plural is functionally active (*hippies murdari* and *autori de best-sellers*). In general, such cases are interpreted in the literature as showing total lack of adaptation to Romanian morphology.

From this perspective, an important aspect of English plural nouns used in Romanian is the relationship they establish with their morphologically adapted equivalents. Situations when the same word is used in the corpus both with English and with native plural morphemes, or not inflected for plural at all, are particularly important as they can be expected to facilitate the analysis of the *-s* ending separately from its root. Nouns showing variable plural marking include *GRP/GRPs/GRPuri, smartphone-uri/smartphones, SUV-uri/SUVs*:

(24) SMARTPHONE-**URILE** au agendă electronică integrată, primesc e-mail-uri, permit accesarea Internetului.
'Smartphones have an integrated electronic organizer, receive emails, allow Internet access.'

(25) ... soluțiile de comunicații mobile prin echipamente IT (laptop-uri, PDA-uri, SMARTPHONE**S**) pot creşte productivitatea lunară a unui angajat cu 500 USD.
'... IT mobile communiations solutions (laptops, PDAs, smartphones) can increase an employee's monthly productivity by 500 US Dollars. '

(26) Cele cinci episoade au livrat mai multe GRP**uri** şi au difuzat mai multe spoturi ...

'The six episodes delivered more GRP**s** and aired more commercials ...'

(27) Cele 56 de episoade difuzate în acest an au acumulat peste 22.000 de GRP (GROSS RATING POINT) şi au atras aproape 3.000 de spoturi publicitare.
'The 56 episodes broadcast this year totalled more than 22,000 *GRP** (GRPs) (*Gross rating point**/points) and attracted almost 3,000 commercials.'

There are also cases when the English plural is not even overtly present in the sentence, the noun that contains it being part of a phrase commonly used as an abbreviation. Such cases include *IFRS (International Financial Reporting Standards)* and *MVNO (Mobile Virtual Network Operators)*:

(28) 2005 ar putea fi anul apariției în România a MVNO (MOBILE VIRTUAL NETWORK OPERATORS).
'2005 might be the year of MVNO (Mobile Virtual Network Operators) entry to Romania.'

In some of these cases the plural is syntactically active:

(29) Societățile listate sau societățile de asigurări pot să întocmească raportările contabile în funcție de Standardele Internaționale de Raportare Contabile, aşa-numitele IFRS, ...
'Public companies or insurance companies can prepare financial reports based on the International Financial Reporting Standards, the so-called IFRS, ... '

If we compare the distribution of English plurals to that of double plurals in different years of the studied magazine, the results seem to point towards a progression from *-s* to double and native plurals. This transition is supported by an increasing frequency of occurrence of the borrowed roots carrying the plural morpheme. Thus, *chips* is used both as an English and a double plural in 1998 (*snaks şi chips, uzina de chips-uri*) but only as a double plural in the 2005 corpus. Similarly, *peoplemeter* is used as an English plural (*peoplemeters)* and as a singular (*peoplemeter)* in 1998, but with both English and Romanian plural marking in 2005 (*peoplemeters, peoplemetere*).

Moreover, the occurrence of the native plural increases from one in 2002 to 10 in 2003.

Other examples include *bytes,* which appears for eight times as *megabytes* and *gigabytes* in 1998, but only in its adapted form *biți* in 2005, *snacks/snaks,* with the active English plural suffix in 1998, but in a variety of other forms in 2005: a double plural (*snacks-uri/snacksuri/snaks-uri*) or a Romanian plural (*snack-uri/snackurilor).* Other words showing English plural formation in 1998 are absent from the 2005 corpus, which once again indicates their nonce character in the language: *T-shirts, stockoptions, scripts.*

The exceptional character of the English plural in Romanian discourse is also evident when borrowed nouns showing several strategies for plural marking are analysed separately in one year of the studied corpus. Thus, in the 2005 corpus, the abbreviation *GRP* is used for seven times with the English plural suffix and for 18 times with a Romanian plural ending (*GRP-uri/GRPuri),* and *SUVs* appears only once while *SUV-uri/SUVuri* has 25 occurrences. On the other hand, the distribution of the two plural forms varies only marginally with less frequent nouns: *peoplemeters* is used once in this form, while *peoplemetre* appears twice, *smartphone-uri* is used three times, while *smartphones* occurs twice. We believe that these examples offer support to the proposal put forth in the literature (Contantinescu et al., 2004) that the occurrence of English plural nouns reflects their total lack of adaptation to the morphological system of Romanian, but also to more general theories of integration linking this process to loanword frequency and age of existence in the recipient language (Appel and Muysken, 1987; Boumans, 1998).

The presence of source-language plurals with borrowed nouns, whether they remain functionally active or are doubled by native plural affixes, becomes particularly interesting from a theoretical perspective, as it has been reported in various language contact situations: Turkish–Dutch (Backus, 1996, 2003), Swahili–English

(Myers-Scotton, 1993), Bolivian Quechua–Spanish (Appel and Muysken, 1987). Its frequent occurrence has led some writers to suggest that the plural morpheme has a distinct place among the functional elements of a language. As such, different approaches have been used in order to account for its occurrence in contact situations, from speech production theories to cognitive linguistics ones.

Myers-Scotton (1993, 2002) analyses foreign plurals in terms of Levelt's (1989) theory of speech production, which posits a strong tie between the plural morpheme and its head. This, in turn, leads to plural morphemes being presumably accessed "at the same address" during the production of sentences:

> The fact that the most common instance of double morphology from CS data (involving English or French as the EL) is for plurality supports the suggestion above that plurality is at the same lemma address as its head, at least in these languages. (…). The scenario operates on the premise that plurality is part of the lexical entry for nouns in English, but this does not imply the same case for *all* inflections or *all* languages. (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 63)

The strong connection between the plural morpheme and the head noun receives support from data in the speech error literature. Such data shows that when speech errors occur, most inflections, such as those marking gender or case, are usually stranded to the right slot where they belong, even if the head moves to an erroneous position. Thus, in the example *If I was done to that* (target: *If that was done to me*), the morphosyntactic specification that a slot requires a given case (the nominative in the position occupied by the pronoun and the accusative after the preposition *to*) is not modified, even if a speech error occurs (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 63-64). The plural morpheme, on the other hand, usually makes the move with its head, showing weaker fixture to the morphosyntactic frame of the sentence. This is why Myers-Scotton argues that the frequent retention of EL

(Embedded Language) plural morphemes is a result of their being "indirectly selected System Morphemes", that is morphemes selected together with their heads. From this perspective, some authors (Myers-Scotton, 2002; Boumans, 1998) prefer to look at foreign plurals as being conceptual units accessed as chunks of language and not constructed compositionally.

This explanation is particularly plausible for those cases in our corpus when the -s affix is used on compound nouns having an internal structure that conforms to English morphosyntax (e.g. *smarphones, road-shows, peoplemeters, watersports, yahoogroups*). However, it cannot satisfactorily answer the question of why foreign plurals appear only with some words and only in some cases, which constitute a small percentage of the total. Backus (1996) reports on findings by Bakker (1992), who, based on a frequency count of occurrences of the three possible patterns (foreign plural, native plural, and double marking), finds that the first and the last ones seem to be the exception rather than the rule. Table 5.3 in this chapter also shows a similar situation for English nouns borrowed in Romanian.

A related solution to the problem of foreign plurals is offered by cognitive linguistics and the concept of multimorphemic unit developed by Langacker within this theoretical framework. Langacker (1991: 45) refers to the lexicon as "the set of *fixed expressions* in a language, irrespective of size and regularity", and regards as lexical items "morphemes, stems, words, compounds, phrases and even longer expressions–provided that they are learned as established units". He defines a multimorphemic unit as a "thoroughly mastered structure, i.e. one that a speaker can activate as a preassembled whole without attending to the specifics of its internal composition." (1990, as cited in Backus, 2003: 85). The main characteristics of such units are their lack of synchronic

compositionality and their status as unanalyzed wholes, even if they do have internal structure.

Backus (2003) uses Langacker's theory to explain the plural double marking in terms of a multimorphemic unit, where the EL (Embedded Language) plural morpheme is part of the EL content morpheme and therefore not syntactically active. However, unlike Myers-Scotton, who proposes that all plural nouns behave in the same way, he hypothesizes that it can be predicted on semantic grounds which nouns will retain their EL plural marker and which ones will not. Thus, nouns that habitually occur as plurals stand a higher chance of retaining their EL plural ending when inserted into a ML (Matrix Language) clause, as they become entrenched enough as unitary lexical items on their own to be accessed as wholes rather than compositionally:

> They represent inherently plural concepts that typically occur in that form, not in the singular (plurale tantum).(…). For the concepts they lexicalize, it is unnatural to focus on just one instantiation. The plural forms do not so much portray multiple instantiations of a single type; instead they are much like mass nouns, denoting a unitary concept in which the contribution of individual instances is downplayed. They are the conceptually unmarked form, because the individual referents do not normally occur independently. (Backus, 2003: 95)

From this perspective, the retention of the source language plural on some borrowed nouns becomes a matter of normality rather than an error stemming from the desire to sound or write 'foreign'.

This proposal could explain some of the examples in our corpus. Thus, *chips, snacks, futures, darts,* and *options* are not usually thought of in the singular, being semantically closer to mass nouns. Other examples, however, do not find a satisfactory explanation through this theory, as it is customary for the concepts they encode to appear both in the singular and in the plural. We agree with those writers (Constantinescu et al., 2004: 182) suggesting that these words

should be seen as symptoms of incomplete morphological integration. Their low frequency of occurrence, as well as their diachronic replacement by native plurals, offers support to this view even in those cases which could be explained through the theories presented above.

Although the various explanations put forth in the literature provide valuable insights into the general mechanisms underlying source-language plural retention in borrowing situations, they cannot satisfactorily explain why foreign plurals appear with some words but not with others, or why they show variable occurrence even at the level of a single word. We believe that this vacillation can partly be explained in terms of the bilingual ability characterizing individual speakers. Thus, in our particular case, the writer's level of English proficiency can influence his/her choice of the foreign plural over the native one, with English-proficient writers tending to preserve the *-s* suffix for a longer time, while less proficient ones will probably integrate nouns sooner.

This explanation is in line with those theories positing a direct link between loanword integration and level of bilingualism in the source language (Baetens-Beardsmore, 1982; Poplack and Sankoff, 1984; Bernsten and Myers-Scotton, 1993), but it partly contradicts Haugen's (1953) proposal that foreign plurals are correlated with low proficiency in the source language on the part of borrowing language speakers. Haugen maintains that, due to insufficient knowledge of the source language, the speakers using the foreign plural are not aware of its plural value and take it as part of the stem, adding further endings as required by the situation. Although this hypothesis correctly explains tautological plurals, we believe that those cases when the foreign plural is syntactically active should be seen as illustrating the opposite situation, i.e. high proficiency in the source language.

The contrastive analysis of the three patterns of plural formation presented so far–Romanian plural, English plural, and double plural–clearly shows the predominance of the first pattern, in a way which makes the other two the exceptions rather than the rules of Anglicism plural marking in Romanian.

5.3.2.3 Bare plural forms

A final strategy for using English nouns with plural referents is to leave them morphologically unmarked for plural. Number is understood from the placement of the borrowed noun in a series of plural words, from its agreement with other words in the sentence, or when the borrowing occupies a syntactic slot normally reserved to plurals in Romanian. Several bare plurals occur as modifiers in N + PP constructions, the prepositional phrase being most commonly headed by *de*. The following examples show this pattern of usage. The inflected nouns given in brackets have been added to the original examples in order to illustrate standard usage:

> (30) Vrem să inițiem şi cursuri de formare de COACH (coach**i**).
> 'We want to initiate training courses for *coach** (coaches).'
>
> (31) Principalele realizări: un azil de bătrâni în Novaci, un centru de zi pentru bătrâni în Craiova, o scoală de BABY-SITTER (baby-sitter**i**) si îngrijitori pentru bătrâni, …
> 'Main achievements: an old people's home in Novaci, a day center for old people in Craiova, a school for *baby-sitter** (baby-sitters) and nurses, ...'

The need for plurality in these cases is emphasized by the actual realization of the plural morpheme in similar contexts. Thus, in the example below, *fast-food* is part of a coordinated construction headed by the preposition *de* and embedded into a noun phrase headed by *lanțurile*. As such, it should follow the same specifications for number as *cafenele,* a situation which becomes even more evident if we replace the borrowed noun with its Romanian translation–*restaurant*:

(32) În vest, lanţurile de cafenele şi FAST-FOOD (fast-food-**uri**), cum ar fi Starbucks, (…), au făcut businessmenii să coboare din birouri şi să lucreze la un sandwich şi un cappuccino.
'In the West, chains of cafes and *fast-food** (fast-food restaurants), such as Starbucks, (...), have made businessmen come down from their offices and work over a sandwich and a cappuccino. '

Other types of structures containing zero plural forms are juxtaposed constructions as in (33) and (34) below, or subject predicatives as in example (35). In these cases, number is either understood from the placement of the borrowed noun in a series of independent nouns inflected for plural, or syntactically encoded in the agreement with a plural verb:

(33) Alte surse de interferenţă sunt telefoanele fără fir, cuptoarele cu microunde, TALKIE-WALKIE (talkie-walkie-**uri**) şi alte reţele fără fir.
'Other sources of interference are wireless phones, microwave ovens, *talkie-walkie** (walkie-talkies), and other wireless devices. '

(34) … a crescut numărul promoţionalelor scumpe din metale preţioase–ca aur, platină, titan–portţigarete, stilouri, port-card-visit, MONEYCLIP (moneyclip-**uri**)–sau din lemn preţios lăcuit …
'... the number of expensive promotional materials made of precious metals–such as gold, platinum, titanium–cigarette cases, pens, post-card-visit, *moneyclip** (money clips)–has increased ... '

(35) Tinerii noştrii sunt JOBHOPPER (jobhopper**i**).
'Our young people are *jobhopper** (job hoppers). '

Sometimes number is marked only on the modifiers accompanying the Anglicism, which remains uninflected for plural:

(36) … un număr important de filiale ale unor reţele multinaţionale au drept acţionari firme înregistrate în paradise fiscale–aşa numitele OFF-SHORE (off-shore-**uri**).
'... the shares of many multinational branches are held by companies registered in tax havens–the so-called *offshore** (offshore companies). '

(37) Probabil că multora dintre noi, (…), gândul ne zboară la una dintre cele mai celebre BUSINESSWOMAN, C. F.
'Many of us (...) are probably thinking of one of the most famous *businesswoman** (businesswomen), C. F. '

As regards the reasons why some English nouns do not receive the plural inflection when used in Romanian, these are not easy to identify. One possible explanation for examples 30 and 31 above could be the usage of the borrowed noun on the model of native constructions like "vânzare de carte" or "producător de film". Alternatively, a phonetic factor may trigger the avoidance of the plural suffix. Thus, the difficulty of adding a plural morpheme to *-ch* ending masculine nouns has been noted in the literature before, sometimes plural formation leading to the paradoxical and difficult to explain addition of the *-er* suffix on these nouns (Ciobanu, 2004: 139): E. coach–pl. coaches > R. sg. coach–pl. coacheri.

Another example of the way in which this phonetic constraint can prevent plural formation in *-ch* ending borrowings in Romanian is the noun *inch.* In sentence (38) below, the word appears both as a bare plural and as the integrated, pluralized *inci,* which might suggest the idea that the writer perceives the two forms as being formally equivalent:

> (38) Primul televizor din lume cu ecran OLED de 40 de INCH (inch**i**). Samsung Electronics a creat primul ecran OLED (…) cu diagonala de 40 de INCI, …
> 'The world's first TV with an OLED screen of 40 *inch** (inches). Samsung Electronics has created the first OLED screen with a diagonal of 40 inches, ... '

However, the suffixed *inchi* appears for 22 times in the *Capital* 2005 corpus, while the bare form *inch* is used only twice. This shows that the idea of a formal constraint barring the plural suffixation of borrowed nouns should not be overemphasized, even if it can be used to explain particular cases.

A phonological reason too may underlie the bare form of *walkie-talkie* in sentence (33) and of *trainee* in the prepositional phrase below. The pronunciation of these borrowings places them in the inflectional class of Romanian masculine nouns with invariable

plural forms (*ochi, pui, unchi, peni*), which partly explains their uninflected form:

> (39) Trei chiar au fost recrutați recent în rândul stagiarilor cuprinşi în noul program de "TRAINEE" lansat de bancă.
> 'Three of them have recently been recruited for the bank's new programme for *trainee** (trainees)/trainee programme. '

The plural formation behaviour of *walkie-talkie, inch, coach,* and *trainee* seems to confirm Treffers-Daller's (2001) hypothesis that the perceived equivalence or congruence between the integrated and unintegrated forms in a language can determine integration or, on the contrary, lack of integration. In the particular examples presented above, there is very little or no difference between the singular and plural forms of the borrowed nouns, which makes the addition of the plural suffix not only redundant and thus optional, but also phonetically difficult. However, although confirming Ciobanu's (2004: 140) observation that a special preference for invariable plurals is shown by *-i* ending singular nouns, the findings of the present study show that such nouns represent a restricted sub-class in the total of bare plurals, most of which end in a consonant.

In this context, it is important to search for alternative explanations for this phenomenon. Bare forms have been described elsewhere in the language contact literature (Berk-Seligson, 1986; Myers-Scotton, 1993; Backus, 1996; Boumans, 1998), most often being seen as the result of some structural clash between the recipient and the donor language. Thus, Myers-Scotton (1993) notes:

> Using bare forms, EL morphemes without inflections, or modifying function words from either language, is a common strategy. As noted above, allowing such bare forms (without modifiers which would have to be positioned) may be a strategy to avoid clashes between ML and EL morpheme order. (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 112)

In the particular cases discussed in this section, we believe that this incongruence resides in the different number specifications for

English and Romanian nominal modifiers. While English most often uses singular nouns in this position (*e.g. coach training, trainee program, fast-food chain*), Romanian prefers plurals in the analogical construction involving a prepositional phrase (*e.g. formare de instructori, program pentru stagiari, lanț de restaurante*). From this perspective, zero plural marking in borrowed nouns can be interpreted as proving the connection between bilingual ability in the source language and loanword integration. Thus, more proficient speakers of English can be expected to show greater interference from this language and preserve some of its structures, for example by producing bare plurals.

With regard to the quantitative impact bare plural forms have in the studied corpus of Anglicisms, a statistical count of the word types used in this way, together with their tokens of occurrence, reveals the very limited scope of this phenomenon. Thus, only 3.82 % of all noun types having a plural referent and only 1.21% of all tokens lack plural marking (see Table 5.3). The discrepancy between types and tokens indicates a very low repetition rate for these nouns (slightly above 2), some of which appear merely once in our data, e.g *businesswoman, moneyclip, jobhopper*. This situation establishes a direct connection between bare forms and limited loanword diffusion across the speech community.

Other nouns showing bareness are more widespread, but they are used more often in their integrated than in their bare form. Thus, *notebook* is inflected for plural according to Romanian morphology in 45 instances and uninflected in just one, *off-shore/offshore* uses the Romanian plural suffix in 6 cases and lacks it in two, *PDA-uri/PDAuri* is used 14 times in the corpus while *PDA* with a plural referent only three times, and *fast-food/fastfood* has ten pluralized occurrences but appears without the plural suffix once. These examples, together with the statistical data presented above, show that the unconventionality resulting from zero plural marking of

borrowed nouns is only a peripheral phenomenon in present-day Romanian.

5.3.3 Definiteness

Out of the total of 1,296 noun types in the corpus, 589 have a definite referent and receive the enclitic definite article. These borrowed types are used in a total of 4,780 instances. Practice varies as to the writing of the article: this can appear hyphenated or fused to the base word depending on the form of the noun, its frequency of use, and probably other factors as well, among which individual writing idyosincrasies may play an important role. The indefinite article is used with 247 word types and 1,346 tokens. Table 5.4 below presents the distribution of borrowed nouns across the two article classes, as well as the cases when an article normally required in monolingual discourse is omitted with borrowed words:

Article	Types	% of total	Tokens	% of total	Frequency (tokens/types)
Definite article	589	93.94%	4,780	96.02%	8.11
Bare forms in N/Acc	9	1.44%	12	0.24%	1.33
Bare forms in G/D	29	4.62%	186	3.74%	6.41
Total	*627*	*100%*	*4,978*	*100%*	*7.93*
Indefinite article	247		1,346		5.45

Table 5.4 Number of nominal Anglicisms used with the definite and the indefinite articles in *Capital* 2005

The use of the Romanian definite and indefinite articles with borrowed nouns does not pose any special problems and will not be analysed any further in the present study. The remainder of this

section will be dedicated to the analysis of nouns lacking the enclitic article in situations when this would normally be used in Romanian. Such nouns may occur as subjects, subject predicatives, and direct objects in the nominative or the accusative, but also with other syntactic functions in the genitive and the dative. The second situation will be analysed in the section discussing case, while the following paragraphs will look at the omission of the definite article with nominal borrowings in the nominative and the accusative cases.

Deciding which noun forms are bare and which are not cannot be done without a compromise, since definiteness in Romanian is not categorical, but depends on a number of semantic and structural factors. Thus, Romanian grammatical rules usually require that a subject placed before the verb should receive the definite or indefinite article, especially when the verb is in the singular. However, the article can miss when the noun occupying the subject position has an abstract, massive meaning, *e.g. Sărăcie este peste tot. (Poverty exists everywhere.), Viață nu există pe alte planete*. (*There is no life after death.*), is part of a fixed proverb, *e.g. Ban la ban trage (Money begets money.), Corb la corb nu-şi scoate ochii*. (*Dog won't eat dog.*), or designates a particular characteristic of the referent, *e.g. Profesor dau meditații matematică*. (*Teacher provides math tutoring.*) (Guțu-Romalo (coord) I, 2005: 75-77, our translation). The presence of the article is almost always required when a noun is used as the subject of a nominal predicate, and it is very common with verbal predicates, too.

In the light of these general rules, we believe that the examples presented below, as well as other similar cases, can be regarded as instances of obligatory article omission on English nouns borrowed into Romanian. The inflected nouns given in brackets have been added to the original examples in order to illustrate standard usage:

(40) WRITE-OFF (Write-off-**ul**) este tot un fel de ajutor de stat, ...
'*Write-off** (A/The write-off) is also a state benefit, ...'

(41) Companii private române din domenii cum ar fi turismul şi CATV (CATV-**ul**) îşi pregătesc listarea la Bursă.
'Private Romanian companies from tourism and CATV are preparing their flotation. '

(42) I.P., de la Tornado, crede totuşi că deocamdată WIFI (wifi-**ul**) nu poate înlocui o rețea clasică …
'I.P., from Tornado, still believes that for now *wifi** (Wi-Fi) cannot replace a traditional network …'

(43) SMARTPHONE (Smartphone-**ul**) are o memorie internă de 64MB ...
'*Smartphone** (The smartphone) has an internal memory of 64MB …'

In other cases, these nouns are used as subject predicatives or direct objects, syntactic positions that impose definiteness requirements similar to those imposed by the subject position. Since the borrowings in the sentences below are neither generic (as in *Cumpăr casă, Caut slujbă*) nor qualifying the referent rather than identifying it (as in *El este profesor*), we believe that they should have obtained the definite article. Moreover, if we replace the borrowed nouns with their Romanian equivalents, the obligatory nature of the article becomes obvious, e.g. *pericolele care pândesc clasa de mijloc, … au preferat sistemul VH*:

(44) Pericolele care pândesc MIDDLE-CLASS (headline)
'Threats to *middle-class** (the middle-class) '

(45) În plus, centrele de închiriere de casete au preferat VHS (VHS-**ul**) datorită prețului.
'Moreover, cassette rental centres have preferred VHS due to its price. '

Other syntactic positions, such as that of complement of preposition, are more customarily occupied by nouns without the definite article. This is why cases such as (46) below were not included in the analysis as instances of obligatory article omission:

(46) Produsele şi serviciile la care românii din MIDDLE-CLASS sunt avantajați față de occidentali, (…), sunt numeroase.
'The products and services which benefit middle-class Romanians, as compared to westerners, (…), are numerous. '

The factors leading to the omission of the article are not easy to identify. It can be argued that the nouns in the examples above have an emblematic function in discourse, their novel character in the language bringing them closer to proper than to common nouns. This is particularly true for abbreviations such as CATV, ROI, VHS, Wi-Fi, or for very low-frequency borrowings (e.g. *write-off*). However, not all the borrowings used without an obligatory article can be included in this category. For example, *smartphone* has a frequency of occurrence of more than 10, and can therefore be expected to have lost its novel character in the language of the magazine. Moreover, some of these nouns also appear with the definite/indefinite article in similar constructions, a situation which confirms the requirement for definiteness in the sentences above, too:

> (47) Multă vreme WIFI-**UL** a avut probleme de securitate, …
> 'For a long time *the Wi-Fi** (Wi-Fi) had security problems, ... '
>
> (48) SMARTPHONE-**URILE** au agendă electronică integrată, primesc e-mail-uri, permit accesarea Internetului.
> '*The smartphones** (Smartphones) have an integrated electronic organizer, receive e-mails, allow Internet access. '

Sometimes, the omission of the article may be a strategy on the writer's part in order to avoid assigning gender to a noun not easily included into any of the Romanian gender classes. For example, the word *middle-class* in sentence (44) is subject to the influence of several factors responsible for gender allocation: phonological factors would require it to be neuter or masculine as a result of its consonant ending, while analogical and homonymic factors would impose feminine gender. Finally, in many of the examples presented above the omission of the article can be seen as reflecting certain structural incongruities between the source and the recipient language. Thus, the fact that English would not use an article in some of the sentences above can explain why this is omitted in Romanian too.

However, there are situations when the omission of the article with a borrowed word defies both English and Romanian structural models.

5.3.4 Case

So far only nouns in the nominative and the accussative have been discussed. However, a large number of borrowed nouns combine article omission with lack of morphological marking for the genitive and the dative. The identification of such situations was not without problems, as in Romanian genitive and dative inflections are categorical only in a limited number of situations, constituting alternatives to analytic constructions in a large number of cases. Thus, the genitive must always be used after prepositions and prepositional phrases ending in *–(u)l* or *–a* (*asupra, contra, împotriva, împrejurul, înapoia, îndărătul, înaintea, deasupra, dedesubtul, în fața, în preajma, în jurul, în vederea, în ciuda, în pofida, etc*) or after the preposition *a* (Guțu-Romalo (coord.), 2005: 72-73). Examples of borrowed English nouns following such prepositions but without being morphologically marked for the genitive include mostly abbreviations, as in 49-51 below. The inflected nouns given in brackets have been added to the original examples in order to illustrate standard usage:

(49) … se observă o sporire a gradului de utilizare a SMS (SMS-**ului/-urilor**), ca mijloc de comunicare neconvențională.
'... one can notice an increase in the use of SMS, as a means of unconventional communication.'

(50) Dar produsele inscripționate ca având în conținut oxid de zinc (…) sunt eficiente şi în cazul UVA (UVA-**urilor**). Ele protejează împotriva UVB (UVB-**urilor**).
'But the products labelled as high in zinc oxide (…) are also efficient against UVA. They protect against UVB.'

(51) … 2005 ar putea fi anul apariției în România a MVNO (Mobile Virtual Network Operators).

′ ... 2005 might be the year of the entry of MVNO (Mobile Virtual Network Operators) to Romania. ′

(52) ... să se confrunte cu o opoziție şi un control mult mai mare din partea MASSMEDIA (mass-medi**ei**) decât în cazul ...
′... they will face stronger opposition and control from the mass media than ... ′

Other nouns requiring the genitive case express possession (example 53) (e.g. *cartea elevului, grădina mamei*), the thematic role of agent (examples 54, 55) (e.g. *plecarea copiilor*), or the thematic role of patient (examples 56, 57, 58) (e.g. *realizatorul emisiunii*). The genitive case with agent and patient nouns is especially important when these nouns are part of noun phrases headed by verbal nouns. The sentences below illustrate the usage of such nominal borrowings in the absence of morphological case markers required by the Romanian linguistic norm:

(53) Acesta nu dispune de ecran, ca predecesorii săi, dar are un atu considerabil: renumele mondial IPOD (**al** iPod**ului**) şi costul scăzut.
′This does not have a screen, like its predecessors, but it has an important advantage: the international *renown of iPod** (renown of the iPod/iPod renown) and the low cost. ′

(54) În ciuda dominației FAST-FOOD (fast-food-**ului**), cererea de produse dietetice urcă constant.
′Despite *the domination of fast-food** (the fast-food domination), demand for dietetic products is rising constantly. ′

(55) Durata LEASING (leasing**ului**).
′*Duration of leasing** (Leasing period). ′

(56) … promovarea E-TAX (e-tax-**ului**) trebuie în primul rând să risipească neîncrederea contribuabililor în acestă alternativă de plată.
′... the promotion of e-tax (e-tax promotion) must first remove taxpayers′ lack of confidence in this alternative method of payment. ′

(57) De la lansarea IPOD (iPodu**lui**) în octombrie 2001, grupul californian a vândut 28 de milioane de dispozitive …
′From *the launch of iPod** (the launch of the iPod) in October 2001, the Californian group has sold 28 million devices ... ′

(58) Abilități în utilizarea PC (PC-**ului**) şi IT (IT-**ului**).

'*Skills in the use of PC and IT** (PC and IT skills)'

However, with nouns performing agent and patient roles the genitive case is not categorical, constituting an alternative to prepositional phrases headed by *de*. For example 'utilizarea PC' can be rephrased both as 'utilizarea PC-urilor' and 'utilizarea de PC-uri', both of these strategies constituting common ways of forming noun phrases in Romanian, and being well represented in the studied corpus. Most borrowings following *piața, zona, domeniul, clasa, vânzare, lansare* can be included in this dual class. For example, a sentence like '*vânzările PDA au scăzut cu 12%*' can be rephrased both as '*vânzările PDA-urilor au scăzut*' and '*vânzările de PDA-uri au scăzut*'.

(59) Drept urmare, o dată cu apariția smart-phoneurilor, au început să scadă vânzările de PDA-uri.
'As a result, sales of PDAs started to drop when smartphones appeared. '

(60) Piața PDA-urilor a scăzut pentru al cincilea trimestru consecutiv, …
'*The market of PDAs* (The PDA market) slumped for the fifth consecutive quarter, ... '

In some cases, the juxtaposed N+N construction should be interpreted in terms of an omitted preposition rather than an omitted genitive suffix, especially when the bare modifier has a plural referent. For example, we believe that '*Rețea ATM*' can be more easily rephrased as '*Rețea de ATM-uri*' than as '*Rețea a ATM-urilor*'. When such occurrences are excluded from the analysis, we are left with a very limited number of borrowings which can be described as categorically lacking genitive marking. These are restricted to nouns following prepositions specific to this case, and to noun modifiers entering an unambiguous relation of possession with their heads. The gradient preference for genitive morphemes in Romanian leaves some of the examples above open to debate, their separation from

other possible interpretations having been done, to some extent, on subjective grounds.

Dative nouns typically follow prepositions like *mulțumită, datorită, grație* and express the thematic roles of beneficiary and experiencer (e.g. *copilului îi place jocul*). Cases of borrowed nouns lacking dative marking include the following examples:

(61) … persoanele care îşi încheie în mod constant polițe RCA au studii superioare, aparțin MIDDLE-CLASS, şi conştientizează importanța asigurărilor în viața cotidiană.
'... the people who constantly purchase third-party insurance policies have a university degree, belong to the middle class, and are aware of the importance of insurance in everyday life. '

(62) Contractele au în vedere asistența specifică PR (PR-**ului**) pe termen lung.
'The contracts refer to specific long-term PR assistance. '

Based on these considerations, twenty-nine English nouns showing genitive/dative morpheme omission have been identified in the corpus of *Capital* 2005. This figure is relatively high if we compare it to the number of Anglicisms actually marked for these cases. Moreover, as Table 5.5 below shows, the bare nouns seem to be more frequently used than their inflected counterparts.

Form	Types	%	Tokens	%	Frequency
Genitive/Dative nouns	335	92.03%	1,540	89.22%	4.59
Bare forms	29	7.97%	186	10.78%	6.41
Total	364	100%	1,726	100%	

Table 5.5 Number of nominal Anglicisms in the genitive/dative in *Capital* 2005

If we compare the data in Table 5.5 to that in Tables 5.4 and 5.3, we find that case endings are omitted more often than other inflectional morphemes, e.g. plural and definiteness. This suggests the idea that

the morphological integration of borrowed words is slowed down at those points where the recipient and source language grammars diverge considerably. Thus, genitive and dative marking in Romanian is done by morphemes showing not only case, but also number and definiteness, which triggers an increased level of functional complexity and therefore difficulty in integrating foreign material. This finding seems to confirm Clyne's (2003) proposal that integration is a variable not only of word class but also of grammatical category, borrowed nouns being integrated differently with respect to gender, number, definiteness, and case.

5.3.5 Conclusions

The relatively frequent omission of inflectional morphemes with borrowed nouns shows that borrowing from English into Romanian can result in a tendency towards brevity of expression, the juxtaposition of uninflected words being sometimes preferred to morphological means of marking relations in the sentence. This tendency is a relatively recent phenomenon that has been described by various writers studying contemporary Romanian. For example, Rodica Zafiu writes:

> E tot mai răspândit, în mass-media, tiparul de construcție care omite elementele de legătură sau mărcile de flexiune, juxtapunând pur şi simplu cuvintele. Această manieră de exprimare, numită uneori "stil telegrafic", prin analogie cu tendința utilitară de reducere a uneltelor gramaticale (mai ales prepoziții) din telegrame, a fost explicată prin influența stilului administrativ, a tabelelor şi a listelor. (Zafiu, 2008)

She also identifies the influence of English syntax as being one of the main factors triggering such juxtaposed constructions in which Romanian inflectional morphology is absent.

The different positions occupied by the definite article in English and Romanian and the highly inflected character of Romanian as compared to English constitute incongruities that can

be used to explain the omission of various inflectional morphemes in the examples discussed above. However, as the statistics in this chapter show, the occurrence of bare forms is variable, even at the level of a single word. This means that not all instances of a word occur as bare forms, and those which are bare can be found in a variety of morphosyntactic contexts. From this perspective, why morphological integration into the recipient language is avoided in some cases but not in most others remains something of a puzzle.

5.4 Adjective integration

As shown in Chapter 4.1, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs account for only around 7% of all borrowed words in *Capital* 2005, with adjectives representing the largest class of this group. The marginal character of these borrowings is reflected in their low repetition rate, all three word classes having an average token frequency of less than ten. For example, verbs and adverbs appear only for an average of 5.73 and 4.18 times respectively. In this context, the morphosyntactic integration of these words can be expected to offer some useful theoretical insights into the correlation between the linguistic integration of borrowings and their frequency of occurrence in a given corpus.

Adjectives represent the second largest group of borrowed words in our data after nouns, most of them being used as modifiers of Romanian heads. The 131 word types that make up this class include several simple, prototypical adjectives: *abroad, casual, cool, corporate, crazy, flat, forward, fun, heavy, home, intelligent, junior, lax, light, live, long, low, medium, open, senior, short, single, smart, soft, spot.*

(63) Din cauza vremii de aici, aproape 75% din britanici preferă vacanțele ABROAD, ...
'Owing to the weather here, almost 75% of the British prefer holidays abroad, ... '

(64) Tinerii fericiți şi COOL au devenit obezi după ce au ras tone de snacks-uri …
'Happy and cool young people have become obese after eating tonnes of snacks ... '

Other adjectives are derived with suffixes: *all-inclusive, bearish, bullish, daily, glossy, managerial, sexy, spicy, trendy, precautionary, wireless*.

(65) Performanța se datorează (…) lansării revistei GLOSSY Bolero pentru femeile tinere.
'The success is due to (...) the launch of the Bolero glossy magazine for young women. '

(66) Piața românescă este şi va ramâne BULLISH, ...
'The Romanian market is and will remain bullish, ...'

A number of adjectives are formed from present and past participles: *backlit, co-branded, fluting, hand-held, longplaying, on-going, outstanding, unplugged, reloaded*.

(67) Există şi cea de-a treia cale (…) pentru activitățile curente generale (ON-GOING) …
'There is a third way (...) for general current (ongoing) activities ... '

(68) … fără să fie o realizare OUTSTANDING, cum ar spune americanii …
'... without being an outstanding accomplishment, as the Americans would say ... '

Finally, a large proportion of the words in this class are represented by compounds functioning as adjectives: *all-inclusive, broadband, desktop, full-time, in-door, in-house, offline, online, part-time, second-hand, stand-by, wholesale.* These may include words from the other sub-classes presented above, e.g. derived forms, or present and past participles:

(69) În timpul verii, oferta de joburi PART-TIME este mult mai mare decât în restul anului …
'During summer, the number of part-time jobs is much higher that in the rest of the year ... '

The morphological and syntactic integration of borrowed adjectives should be seen in the context of two important differences between Romanian and English morphosyntax. First, most Romanian adjectives agree with their head nouns in gender, number, and case, being morphologically marked for these categories; English adjectives, on the other hand, are invariant. Second, Romanian attributive adjectives most often follow their head nouns; in English, they most often precede them.

The data in the studied corpus reveals an overwhelming tendency for borrowed adjectives to lack integration into the Romanian inflectional classes of gender, number, and case. Those adjectives that are inflected according to Romanian morphology (*cobrandată, computerizat, computerizată, computerizate, managerial, managerială, managerial)* do not represent very convincing examples of borrowed adjectives, as it can be argued that they have been derived on Romanian ground from words originally borrowed as nouns.

This interpretation receives support from the fact that adjective suffixation from noun bases is a common strategy in contemporary Romanian. Moreover, the nouns from which these adjectives have been derived (*brand, computer, manager*) are well integrated into the language, being among the most often used Anglicisms in the corpus. As lexical productivity is strongly correlated with frequency of occurrence and social integration of the root, the hypothesis of indirect adjective formation becomes very plausible. Without altogether excluding the possibility of these adjectives having been borrowed as such from English (cf. *cobranded, computerized, managerial*), we are still faced with an almost categorical lack of morphological integration on the part of adjectival Anglicisms in the *Capital* 2005 corpus.

Borrowed adjectives are generally limited in distribution and usage, most of them occurring merely once in the studied corpus.

From this perspective, their lack of integration into the inflectional classes of Romanian can be seen as resulting from a lack of social integration, the correlation between loanword frequency and grammatical adaptation being generally acknowledged in the specialized literature. However, well distributed adjectives such as *online* (273 occurrences), *wireless* (50 occurrences), and *all-inclusive* (18 occurrences) display the same categorical lack of Romanian morphological marking, a situation which casts some doubt on the validity of the frequency–integration relation in the particular case of adjectives. Moreover, this situation is not restricted to Romanian–English contact, as it has been reported for other language pairs as well (Pfaff, 1979 for Spanish–English; Humbley, 2004 for French–English; Kvaran and Svavarsdottir, 2004 for Icelandic–English; Alexieva, 2004 for Bulgarian–English).

The language contact literature generally recognizes a relationship between morphological integration and word category, with some word classes (nouns and verbs) being more likely to be assimilated than others (adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, etc). Since adjectives are a more peripheral class than nouns and verbs, in that they establish fewer and less important relations with other words in the sentence, morphological integration proceeds more slowly in their case, most often word order being the only evidence of their adaptation to the recipient language. A related explanation is that inflectional markers on adjectives are completely redundant, which supports their disposal in borrowings (Pfaff, 1979; Clyne, 2003).

Even if they do not inflect at all, some borrowed adjectives take part in comparison relations by means of the adverbs *mai* and *cel mai* (the Romanian counterparts of the English *more* and *most*), or are pre-modified by adverbs such as *foarte, puternic,* or *exclusiv*:

(70) La costuri comparative mai mici, publicitatea online e mai SPICY, e mai agilă, apare acolo unde nu te aştepți …

'At comparatively lower costs, online advertising is more spicy, more agile, it shows up where you least expect it …'

(71) … se observă participarea smart şi dumb money la creşterea recentă, ceea ce întăreşte caracterul puternic BULLISH.
'… smart and dumb money is contributing to the recent increase, which consolidates its strongly bullish character. '

(72) Pentru a cuceri piața, furnizorii de instruire se întrec în a face oferte cât mai FUN, …
'In order to win market share, trainers compete on offers as fun as possible …'

(73) Austriecii au construit în arcadele podului peste care trece metroul vienez cele mai TRENDY restaurante şi baruri din oraş.
'In the arches of the bridge over Vienna's subway, the Austrians have build the city's most trendy restaurants and bars. '

(74) Înființată în 1983 şi activând ca trupă exclusiv UNDERGROUND, Timpuri Noi a cunoscut în 1991 o schimbare radicală…
'Founded in 1983 and performing as an exclusively underground band, Timpuri Noi saw a radical change in 1991 …'

The examples above show that, although not conforming to the morphological rules of Romanian, English adjectives are very well integrated into its syntactic structures. A more detailed analysis of this aspect is presented in the table below, which shows the distribution of borrowed adjectives in attributive and predicative positions across the corpus.

Position	**Types**	**%**	**Tokens**	**%**	**Frequency**
Attributive	121	92.37%	1,138	97.51%	9.4
Predicative	10	7.63%	29	2.49%	2.9
Total	131	100%	1,167	100%	8.90

Table 5.6 Number of attributive and predicative adjectival Anglicisms in *Capital* 2005

The data in Table 5.6 shows that borrowed adjectives are used attributively much more often than they are used predicatively.

Thus, only a number of ten English adjectives occupy the subject predicative position, all of them also occurring as attributes in the studied corpus: *bearish, bullish, cool, dial-up, indoor, light, spicy, sexy, trendy, webbased.* These adjectives typically follow the Romanian copula *a fi*, but also other linking verbs, e.g. *a ramâne, a deveni, a redeveni*:

(75) Asemenea consolidări sunt, de regulă, BULLISH.
'Such consolidations are usually bullish.'

(76) Spre deosebire de jocurile din Java, conținutul în Flash este LIGHT.
'Unlike the Java games, the Flash content is light. '

(77) … considerăm că pe termen lung (…) euro devine foarte BEARISH.
'… we believe that in the long term (…) the euro will become very bearish. '

(78) Veştile bune există, însă trebuie să redevină TRENDY …
'The good news already exists, but it has to become trendy again ...'

As shown in Table 5.6, most of the adjectives in the corpus are used in attributive position. We believe that this situation is partly a consequence of the specificity of news writing, which prefers noun phrases to verb phrases as being more economical ways of packing information. Several examples of adjective attributes include:

(79) … o nouă tendință în moda decorațiunilor interioare, aşa numitele vase CRAZY, datorită jocurilor speciale de culori utilizate în construcția vasului.
'… a new trend in interior design, the so-called crazy vases, due to the special interplay of colours used in the construction of the vase. '

(80) … societate care produce hârtie igienică, carton ondulat şi hârtie de carton ondulat (hârtie FLUTING).
'… a company that manufactures toilet paper, fluting cardboard and fluting paper. '

(81) Avantajul acestei clădiri este parkingul şi faptul că este prima clădire INTELLIGENT, clasificată în categoria triplu A …

'The advantage of this building is the parking lot, and the fact that it is the first intelligent building, ranked as triple A …'

(82) Alte avantaje ale pieței futures sunt tranzacțiile SHORT (adică poți să vinzi în lipsă) …
'Other advantages of the futures market are the short transactions (you can sell securities that you do not have) …'

With very few exceptions, borrowed adjectives in attributive position conform to Romanian syntax by appearing on the right-hand side of the noun. Merely two words, *junior* and *senior*, diverge from the norm and premodify their nominal heads:

(83) … tehnoredactor, JUNIOR programator pe limbaje cum ar fi: Java, C, …
'… copy editor, junior programmer for Java, C, …'

(84) SENIOR analistul ABN Amro Bank,(…), susține la rândul său aprecierea leului…
'ABN Amro Bank's senior analyst, (…), also says that the leu is going to appreciate …'

However, sometimes these adjectives observe conventional usage, by following their heads. For example, *junior* is used before the noun it modifies once and following it four times, while *senior* precedes its head in 14 instances and follows it in 14 others. This situation makes the question of why certain adjectives are integrated syntactically in some cases but not in others difficult to answer.

We believe that the examples above can be seen as illustrating incomplete integration of the corresponding English noun phrases (*junior programmer, junior analyst*), rather than free combinations between English and Romanian words. Thus, hybrid phrases like *junior programator* and *senior analist* should be analysed as cases of importation (*junior programmer*) with partial morphemic substitution (*programator*), to use Haugen's (1950, 1953) terminology. As shown earlier in this chapter, substitution or integration affects heads of phrases before modifiers as a result of their more central role in the sentence. Moreover, since the integration of borrowed words has

been shown to be strongly correlated with speakers' bilingual ability in the source language, blended Adj + N constructions can be explained as resulting from a high level of English proficiency on the part of individual writers, the frequency with which they use English in their everyday work, and other related factors.

Our findings regarding the insertion of borrowed adjectives in Romanian, in both attributive and predicative position, should be interpreted within a larger theoretical framework. Various constraints proposed in the language contact literature, among which Poplack's (1980) Equivalence Constraint is the most notable one, require structural parallelism between the two languages in contact at switch points, barring the insertion of adjectives within NPs in the absence of equivalent rules for their placement in the source and the recipient language. This theoretical proposal is supported by data in some code-switching corpora where switched adjectives occur most often in predicative position (Pfaff, 1979; Poplack, 1980 for Spanish–English, Manczak-Wohlfeld, 2004 for Polish–English; Nortier, 1989 for French–Arabic), but widely contradicted by others. Thus, borrowed adjectives used attributively have been reported in a large number of European languages having word order specifications that are different from those of English (Pulcini, 2004 for English–Italian). The present study has shown that the Equivalence Constraint makes the wrong predictions for Romanian too, since it claims that pre-nominal English adjectives cannot be placed after Romanian nouns. This is not correct, as they are actually placed in this position very often in our data.

It can be argued that some of the adjectives in our corpus are integrated borrowings, and therefore do not have to conform to the specifications imposed by this formal constraint. While this is true, in addition to such integrated borrowings, the *Capital* 2005 corpus also contains very low-frequency adjectives which should be regarded as code-switches according to most definitions of the term. These are

freely used in attributive position, actually preferring it to the predicative one. The examples below illustrate some of these cases:

> (85) Totuşi, revizuirile la acordul de tip PRECAUTIONARY, (…), vor fi discutate cu reprezentanții Fondului.
> 'Still, revisions to *the agreement of the precautionary type* (the precautionary agreement), (…), will be discussed with the respresentatives of the Fund.'

> (86) În piață există un singur card pentru sectorul corporate, cu linie de credit de tip REVOLVING, …
> 'There is only one card in the market for the corporate sector, with *a credit line of the revolving type* (a revolving credit line), …'

> (87) Majoritatea posturilor cu regim PART-TIME (…) sunt specifice call-centerelor …
> 'Most posts *with a part-time regime* (part-time posts) (…) are specific to call-centers …'

This mixing pattern suggests a very strong syntactic tie betweens nouns and adjectives in Romanian, which is also evident in the morphological agreement existing between these words in monolingual discourse. Such a tie has been evoked in the literature (Pfaff, 1979; Poplack, 1980) in order to explain why foreign adjectives cannot be mixed inside NPs. We believe that, on the contrary, this noun–adjective connection can be used to explain the borrowing of adjectives in attributive position: as nouns exert a firm grammatical hold on adjectives, the latter's foreignness will not prevent them from being used inside this nominal gravitational field. Moreover, the uninflected character of English adjectives seems to facilitate their introduction into Romanian noun phrases, as their 'neutral' form does not contrast in any way with Romanian morphology. The idea of zero morphological marking facilitating transfer has received support from studies which show that switching of single English adjectives into Spanish NPs is more acceptable than switching of single Spanish adjectives into English NPs, a contrast which the Equivalence Constraint cannot explain (Sobin, 1984, cited in Treffers-

Daller, 1994: 147). In this context, we believe that Romanian–English mixing can be best explained through insertional theories of language contact, such as the Matrix Language Frame Model put forth by Myers-Scotton in a series of publications starting with the 1990s.

Finally, the individual circumstances of borrowing, such as speakers' proficiency in the source language and their particular attitude towards foreign importations, may play an important role in the integration of borrowed adjectives. Our tentative hypothesis is that Romanian-dominant writers will use structures conforming to Romanian syntax, while those more proficient in English will be occasionally swayed by English word-order rules.

5.5 Adverb integration

As shown in Chapter 4.1, adverbs represent the smallest class of simple Anglicisms in the corpus of *Capital* 2005, their representation in the total of borrowings being much smaller than that of native adverbs in monolingual discourse. There are 16 adverb types and 67 tokens, a situation which indicates an average frequency of occurrence of about 4. However, with the exception of *online* (42 occurrences), *non-stop* (7 occurrences), and *full-time* (3 occurrences), all the other borrowed adverbs have a token frequency of less than three.

Formally, a large proportion of adverbial Anglicisms (52 out of 67 tokens) are compounds (e.g. *full-time/ fulltime, online, offline, in-house, part-time, worldwide*), while the rest are simple or derived words (e.g. *short, high, cool, today, trendy)*. No adverbs ending in *–ly* have been found in the studied corpus. Some of the words borrowed as adverbs in Romanian exist only as adjectives in English, even if they occupy the same syntactic slot in both languages. Such examples are *cool, trendy,* and *OK*. Thus, in English these words are

adjectives functioning as subject predicatives to the impersonal *it*, e.g. 'It is cool/trendy/OK to do something', while in Romanian they are adverbs fulfilling the same syntactic role, e.g. 'Este cool/trendy/ OK să faci ceva':

> (88) Se gândeşte, probabil, că este COOL să stea acasă …
> 'He probably thinks that it is cool to stay at home …'

> (89) Motivul? E TRENDY.
> 'The reason? It is trendy. '

> (90) Dacă fostul primar îmi poate arăta semnătura unor astfel de specialişti, este OK.
> 'If the former mayor can show me the signature of such specialists, it is OK. '

Most of the adverbs in the corpus function as circumstance adverbials, and very few are used as modifiers. The corpus contains no stance or linking adverbials. In our opinion, this situation results from the way adverbs are distributed across syntactic roles in the source language, with circumstance adverbials clearly outweighing the other two classes (Biber et al., 2000: 765- 767). Since both circumstance adverbials and modifiers are highly integrated into the clause structure, their prevalence in borrowed material proves the insertional character of Romanian–English mixing in *Capital* 2005.

The Romanian adjectives modified by borrowed adverbs are *disponibil* and *deschise*, and the adverb modifying both of them is *non-stop*:

> (91) EasyPayments–centru de plăţi cu numerar, disponibil NON-STOP oricărui cetăţean …
> 'EasyPayments–the cash payments center, available non-stop to all citizens …'

> (92) Un complex are (…) 2 terase pe plajă deschise NON-STOP unde se servesc şi băuturi alcoolice.
> 'A center has (…) two beach bars open non-stop, where acoholic drinks are also served. '

There is one noun-modifying adverb in the corpus:

(93) … ceea ce îi asigură locul 1 în topul site-urilor din România şi un binemeritat loc 3 WORLDWIDE în topul site-urilor de download.
' …which secures it the 1st place in Romania's site ranking and a well-deserved 3rd place worldwide in the torrent site ranking. '

While modifiers restrict the meaning of their head, circumstance adverbials add information about the action or state described in the clause, showing how, when, or where they occur (Biber et al., 2000: 549). The large majority of adverbs in the present corpus are adverbs of manner, with very few examples showing place. The verbs they determine are most often main verbs in the indicative (example 94 below) but they can also be past participles (example 95) or gerunds (example 96):

(94) Cu toate acestea, consider situația extrem de bună pentru cei care vor juca SHORT.
'Nevertheless, I consider the situation extremely favourable for those who are going to play short.'

(95) Se asigură acces la titluri de stat din întreaga lume, (…), fonduri mutuale înregistrate OFFSHORE, fonduri de investiții.
'Access is provided to government bonds worldwide, (…), mutual funds registered offshore, investment funds.'

(96) Ele vor adopta o abordare mai complicată, luând din nou IN-HOUSE (la fața locului) activitățile care nu au fost efectuate suficient de performant.
'They will adopt a more complex approach, taking back in-house the activities that haven't been performed well enough.'

Although many adverbials in the corpus clearly belong to one category or another, e.g. manner, place, time, in some cases these semantic borderlines are not so clear. Thus, *full-time* and *non-stop* in the examples below can be interpreted as describing both the manner and the duration of the action they refer to, while *high, in-house, online,* and *offline* can describe the place as well as the manner of their verbal heads:

(97) După o colaborare de jumătate de an cu compania L.F., acceptă să lucreze FULL-TIME în calitate de consilier juridic.

'After a six month collaboration with L.F., he agrees to work full-time as a legal advisor.'

(98) Astfel de comenzi, strigate cu putere, se aud NON-STOP în zona în care sunt casele de marcat.
'Such orders, called out loud, can be heard non-stop in the till area.'

(99) Luând în considerație (…) serviciile oferite IN-HOUSE, DC communication deține prima poziție pe segmentul ei de piață.
'As regards (…) services offered in-house, DC communication is a market leader.'

(100) Dacă majoritatea comenzilor se fac ONLINE, românii preferă să plătească OFFLINE.
'If most orders are made online, Romanians prefer to pay offline.'

As far as the integration of borrowed adverbs in the studied corpus is concerned, this is categorical. More exactly, morphological adaptation is very much simplified by the uninflected character of Romanian adverbs in monolingual discourse, while syntactically the process is aided by parallel verb + adverb word orders in both languages under consideration.

5.6 Verb integration

5.6.1 Verbal Anglicisms

Borrowed verb types account for merely 1.29 % of all tagged Anglicisms in our data, having a much lower representation in the total of borrowings than native verbs in monolingual discourse (see figure 4.1). The 46 verb types in *Capital* 2005 are used in a total of 264 instances, a situation which indicates a frequency of occurrence of less than 6. Borrowed verbs include both finite and non-finite forms, although the latter are much better represented as regards the number of their occurrences in the corpus. This means that when they do appear, borrowings used as main verbs are more rarely used than their non-finite counterparts. Table 5.9 below shows the distribution of the two verb classes in the studied corpus.

	Types	Tokens	Frequency
Finite	22	85	3.86
Non-finite	24	179	7.45
Total	46	264	5.73

Table 5.7 Number of finite and non-finite verbal Anglicisms in *Capital* 2005

The morphological integration of verbal Anglicisms is almost categorical. Thus, with only two exceptions, all the borrowed verbs in *Capital* 2005 are morphologically adapted by means of the suffix -*a/-ia* (*-r* ending verbs use the suffixes *-ia* and *-iza*), which integrates them into the large class of Romanian first conjugation verbs. Only one borrowed verb enters the fourth conjugation:

> (101) Compania şi-a început activitatea în România în anul 1996, sub numele de M.R., fiind REBRENDUITĂ Orange în aprilie 2002.
> 'The company started its activity in Romania in 1996 as M.R., being rebranded as Orange in April 2002.'

In detail, the following table lists the borrowings used as main verbs in our data:

a accesa	'to access'	*a mixa*	'to mix'
a baxa	'to box'	*a performa*	'to perform'
a clona	'to clone'	*a printa*	'to print'
a conbranda	'to co-brand'	*a rebranda*	'to rebrand'
a downloada	'to download'	*a rebrendui*	'to rebrand'
a lista	'to list'	*a sponsoriza*	'to sponsor'
a manageria	'to manage'	*a scana*	'to scan'
a targeta	'to target	*a surfa*	'to surf'
		a upgrade	'to upgrade'

Table 5.8 Anglicisms used as main verbs in *Capital* 2005

Two main verbs remain uninflected with Romanian morphology, although it can be argued that neither of them is firmly embedded into the grammatical structure of its sentence. Thus, in example (102)

below the borrowed *exit* is used only as a flagged synonym for the native *să părăsească*, in this way escaping the requirements impose by its larger morphosyntactic environment. Sentence (103), on the other hand, uses an unintegrated verb in the imperative, which replaces a high-frequency native verb (*a vizita*). In this case, lack of integration serves a very clear social function (i.e. it places Romania in a more desirable, fashionable, and prestigious light), thus confirming the view that core borrowings follow different integration paths from cultural ones.

> (102) … unii investitori au decis să-şi marcheze profitul, adică să părăsească (EXIT) investiții …
> … some investors have decided to retain their profit, that is to leave (exit) investments …

> (103) VISIT România-Venus-Hotel Dana
> Visit Romania-Venus-Hotel Dana

The studied corpus also contains two cases of unintegrated past participles. However, one of them is an older and somehow established English word in Romanian (example 104), while the other one is flagged and consequently 'dislocated' from the morphosyntactic frame of the sentence (example 105):

> (104) Primele cinci episoade din Băieți Buni, un produs MADE în România, dar cu marca USA, au suferit de programări diferite.
> 'The first five episodes of Băieți Buni, a product Made in Romania, but under the USA brand, were differently scheduled. '

> (105) Au revenit zgomotos băieții de la Vacanța Mare, în conflict direct cu ambițiosul Folclor de la Antena, Teleeurobingo "RELOADED" în "Euro Tombola", …
> 'The boys from Vacanța Mare have come back, in direct conflict with the ambitious Folklore from Antena, Teleeurobingo „reloaded" as "Euro Tombola", …

All the other verbal borrowings are morphologically adapted, receiving Romanian endings for tense, mood, number, and person, and being used in a variety of grammatical forms and functions. For

example, *a accesa* is used as an infinitive, a present indicative, a past participle, a gerund, and a subjunctive. We believe that the inflectional variey shown by this verb is supported by its homonymy with the native noun *acces*. Other borrowed verbs which are richly inflected with Romanian morphology are *a sponsoriza, a performa, a printa, a downloada*. The following examples illustrate the various grammatical functions of borrowed verbs in *Capital* 2005:

(106) Numărul de persoane care SURFEAZĂ pe web la nivel mondial va depăşi miliardul înainte de sfârşitul anului …
'The number of people who surf the web worldwide will pass the one billion mark before the end of the year …'

(107) A. are o prezență importantă în Bucureşti şi şi-A UPGRADAT rețeaua …
'A. is an important presence in Bucharest and has upgraded its network …'

(108) Ei vor putea să încredințeze administrarea proprietății companiei care va MANAGERIA hotelul.
'They will be able to entrust the property management to the company which will manage the hotel. '

(109) Facem şi activitate de producție, respectiv MIXĂM condimente'...
'We are also involved in production, that is we mix spices, …'

(110) Dacă foştii mei angajați au PERFORMAT, acest lucru ne onorează ...
'If my former employees have performed well, this is an honour …'

(111) Firefox a fost DOWNLOADAT de peste 44 de milioane de ori şi a atins peste 5% din piața browserelor.
'Firefox has been downloaded for over 44 million times and has reached over 5% of the browser market. '

(112) … indienii sunt pasionați de sport, 82% din utilizatorii de conținut ACCESÂND ştirile sportive.
… the Indians are keen on sports, 82% of content users accessing sports news.

(113) Marile magazine vor cheltui mai mulți bani (…) pe modificarea caselor de marcat, care vor PRINTA bonuri în monedă dublă …
'Large stores will spend more money (…) to alter check-out counters, which will print receipts in two currencies …'

As it can be seen from the examples above, borrowed verbs are frequently used as past participles and infinitives to form different tenses and the passive voice. Most often they occur in the indicative, although in some cases they are also used in the subjunctive and the gerund. However, while participles used as adjectives tend to remain unadapted and retain the *-ed* ending in most of their occurrences (e.g. *co-branded/cobranded* has 20 occurrences in the corpus), those used as verbs are almost always inflected with Romanian morphology: *co-brandat, downloadat, listat, manageriat, printat, rebrandat, rebrenduit, scanat, sponsorizat, targetat*. A similar situation was found by Onysko (2007: 234-239) for English borrowings in German.

One explanation for this situation might be that the verbal participles presented above are not adapted versions of their English counterparts, but have been formed in Romanian through the suffixation of previously imported words. We also believe that the different behaviours of these borrowings lend support to the idea of word class centrality as influencing the adaptation process, with central classes (e.g. nouns and verbs) being integrated more easily than peripheral ones (e.g. adjectives and adverbs).

5.6.2 Bilingual compound verbs (BCVs)

Although the number of English verbs borrowed in the corpus of *Capital* 2005 is relatively low, verbal meanings are transferred much more often than the data in Table 5.7 suggests. As shown in Chapter 4.1, Romanian uses a special strategy for integrating such meanings: the use of the light verb 'a face', which carries all the necessary inflections for mood, tense, person, and number, and a nominal Anglicism. This construction is known in the literature as a bilingual compound verb (BCV), and it has been defined as follows:

> BCVs consist of a light or "operator" verb frequently translatable as 'do' or 'make', which appears in conjunction with a lexical element (the

"adjunct") which contributes the core semantic content of the construction. (Edwards and Gardner-Chloros, 2007: 74)

The study of this construction becomes particularly interesting as a result of its seemingly free distribution across a very wide variety of languages, from agglutinative to inflectional and isolating ones (Backus, 1996 signals its presence in Turkish, Moravcsik, 1975 in German). In addition to their widespread use, BCVs are also theoretically interesting from the perspective of their function in the recipient language. Thus, it is not clear why these constructions appear at all, given that languages have other, more economical means at their disposal to incorporate foreign verbs.

In Romanian, this structure seems to be a particularly convenient frame for the insertion of English words, the number of bilingual compound verbs almost outweighing the number of actual borrowed verbs: there are 24 borrowed nouns inserted into hybrid VPs of this type, and they are used in a total of 44 instances. In contrast, only 22 borrowed words are used as main verbs, although they have a better distribution across the corpus (i.e. 85 occurrences). In detail, the following BCVs have been identified in the corpus:

a face brainstorming	'to brainstorm'	a face check-in	'to check-in'
a face bungee-jumping	'to bungee-jump'	a face lobby	'to lobby'
a face download	'to download'	a da/ face click	'to click'
a face un refresh	'to refresh'	a face play	'to play'
a face a efectua service	'to service'	a face shopping	'to shop'
a face head-hunting	'to head-hunt'	a face snorkel	'to snorkel'
a face hedging	'to hedge'	a face outsourcing	'to outsource'
a face rebound	'to rebound'	a face share	'to share'
a face exit	'to exit'	a face trading	'to trade'
a face design	'to design'	a face snowboard	'to snowboard'
a face tuning	'to tune'	a face dumping	'to dump'
a face update	'to update'		

Table 5.9 Bilingual compound verbs in *Capital* 2005

A lot of effort has been made in the literature in order to elucidate the causes leading to the appearance of bilingual compound verbs at the expense of simpler, one-word means of expression. A frequently used explanation (Pfaff, 1979; Clyne, 2003) for the occurrence of these constructions is a morphological one: the light native verb 'do' carries all the necessary grammar morphemes the recipient language requires for verbs in general, thus "saving" the foreign verb from being inflected. This explanation seems to be particularly plausible for Romanian, where verbs are highly inflected and consequently more difficult to integrate when borrowed from other languages.

Moreover, the data in the present corpus suggests that incorporating borrowings through BCVs not only serves morphological purposes, but also eliminates some of the syntactic requirements imposed by these verbs on other words in the sentence. Thus, in most cases when a transitive verb is borrowed as such, it is used transitively in Romanian, too (see examples 107-109, 112, 113). On the other hand, many of the bilingual VPs headed by 'a face' are used with an intransitive meaning in *Capital* 2005, although the corresponding English verbs are transitive. The examples below illustrate this situation:

(114) … este o utopie să ceri unei IMM clasică SĂ FACĂ HEDGING …
'… it is a fantasy to ask a traditional SME *to do hedging** (to hedge its investments) …'

(115) Căştile wireless prezintă pe lateral butoane de control, pentru (…) A FACE pauză sau PLAY.
'Wireless headphones have lateral controls, *to do pause or play** (to pause or play the iPod, CD, record).'

(116) … între computerele celor din rețea SE FACE DOWNLOAD chiar cu 2 MB pe secundă, …
'… people *do download** (download files) between network computers at 2 MB per second …'

(117) Cei de la H. I. cred că este un priviligiu că NU FAC OUTSOURCING …

'At H. I., they believe it is a privilege that they *do not do outsourcing** (do not outsource their activities) …'

When the patient of the action is mentioned, it is always expressed through a prepositional phrase:

(118) D.P. FACE TUNING pentru maşini mărci Skoda…
'D.P. *does tuning for Skoda cars** (tunes Skoda cars) …'

(119) Pentru antivirusul Kaspersky, FACEM CÂTE UN UPDATE la fiecare trei ore.
'We *do an update for the Kaspersky anti-virus** (update the Kaspersky anti-virus) every three hours. '

(120) Aici NU SE FACE DESIGN decât pentru mobilier …
'We only *do designing for furniture** (design furniture) here (…).'

These examples seem to suggest the idea that BCVs may appear in order to convey a more general verbal meaning than that allowed by a borrowed verb. However, this explanation cannot be used to account for those cases of intransitive verbs which have been transferred as nominals in VPs headed by 'a face', even if no syntactic complications would have arisen from their separate borrowing. Such examples include *a da click, a face check-in, a face lobby, a face shopping, a face snorkel, a face snowboard, a face trading*:

(121) SĂ FACI SHOPPING pe bulevardul Magheru în miezul zilei este o adevărată aventură.
'To do your shopping (To shop) on Magheru Boulevard in the middle of the day is quite an adventure. '

(122) … tot gratis se poate FACE SNORKEL …
'… one can also *do snorkel** (snorkel) for free …'

(123) Este mare iubitor al sportului–schiază, FACE SNOWBOARD, joacă golf, …
'He is a keen sportsman–he skis, *does snowboarding** (snowboards), plays golf, …'

(124) Acest lucru este un mare avantaj pentru cei care FAC TRADING utilizând analiza tehnică drept input.
'This is a great advantage for those who *do trading** (trade) using technical analysis as input…'

In some of the cases presented above, the choice of a VP over a simple verb may be formally motivated. Thus, long words or compounds made up of several syllables (e.g. *brainstorm, bungee-jump, check-in, heat-hunt, outsource, snowboard*) may be perceived as difficult to integrate for productive reasons, the addition of an extra suffix such as *-a/-iza* increasing their already existing formal complexity. However, other examples in the studied corpus show that comparably long words have been adopted as verbs (e.g. *a downloada, a upgrada,* also see example 107).

> (125) … Internet Explorer foloseşte tehnologia ActiveX, mici programe care SE DOWNLOADEAZĂ automat …
> '… Internet Explorer uses the ActiveX technology, small programmes which are automatically downloaded …'

Similarly, our unsystematic observation of Romanian speech data shows that *a tuna*–Engl. tune, *a şara*–Engl. share, *a clicui*–Engl. click, *a refreşa*–Engl. refresh, *a updata*–Engl. update, and other similar verbs are common in the language of young people who are relatively fluent in English.

Based on the examples presented above, we believe that a phonological factor can be put forth in order to explain the low number of borrowed verbs in *Capital* 2005. As shown in Chapter 4.1, almost all lexical verbs in the corpus were first borrowed as nouns in verb phrases headed by 'a face' (*download, surfing, upgrade*), or in other functions, e.g. *performer–a performa, target–targetat, sponsor–a sponsoriza, brand–a rebranda, a rebrendui, manager–a manageria*. These examples seem to indicate a progression from bilingual compound verbs to borrowed verbs: time-depth and increased frequency of use leads to the phonological integration of the nominal loans entering BCVs, which in turn allows their derivation with native suffixes for verb formation: *-a/-iza/-ia*. On a related note, the English verbs discussed in the previous paragraph as being common in informal

Romanian conform to Romanian pronunciation rules. In this context, we would like to propose the following constraint:

> Only phonologically integrated borrowings can be used as inflected verbs in Romanian.

This constraint can be subsumed under Poplack's Free Morpheme Constraint regarding the impossibility of mixing between a code-switched word and a native bound morpheme, unless the former is phonologically integrated. From the Romanian–English contact data, it seems that the strength of this constraint increases as the bound morpheme increases in complexity. Thus, while foreign derivational affixes can sometimes be attached to native words, functionally more complex inflectional morphemes such as verbal suffixes for mood, tense, person, and number are generally barred from being used on rare and phonologically unintegrated words.

The requirement that inflectional morphemes can only be used on phonologically adapted verbs would be in line not only with the Free Morpheme Constraint, but also with other structural approaches that have been used in the literature. In particular, Belazi, Rubin, and Toribio (1994) propose a code-switching model based on the government and binding theory, and try to explain code-switching phenomena from their Tunisian Arabic–French and Spanish–English corpus in terms of the relationship between functional heads and their complements. They believe that functional categories such as Complementizer, Inflection, Negation, and Determiner are heads of phrases, and code-switching between them and their complements is not allowed, while switching between lexical heads and their complements "proceeds unimpeded". They call this requirement the Functional Head Constraint and formulate it as follows:

> The language feature of the complement f-selected by a functional head, like all other relevant features, must match the corresponding feature of that functional head. (Belazi et al., 1994: 228)

As a consequence, constructed example 1 is unacceptable because the language of the functional head (the English determiner *a*) and the language of the complement (the Spanish *demonio*) do not match, while example 2 is correct as it involves a lexical head and its complement:

1. He is a *demonio.*

'He is a devil' (1994: 227)

2. They used to serve *bebidas alcoholicas en ese restaurante.*

'They used to serve alcoholic beverages in that restaurant.'(1994: 230)

While the corpus studied in this book does contain instances of switching at syntactic sites prohibited by the model above, for example between determiner and noun phrase, we believe that this constraint correctly predicts that, at least for Romanian, mixing between INFL and VP is not possible unless they carry the same language index.

In additional to the structural explanations presented above, BCVs can also be seen as resulting from the combination of several social, psychological, and pragmatic factors, e.g. level of bilingualism, language attitudes, etc. Thus, we believe that these constructions may appear because the writer is familiar only with the nominal borrowings and simply does not know the corresponding verbs. This hypothesis is supported by the very large number of borrowed nouns as compared to verbs in the studied corpus. For example, *outsourcing* is used for 44 times as a noun, and only four times inside a verb phrase (*a face outsourcing*). Moreover, we believe that bilingual ability as determining the types of words that get borrowed is a powerful predictor especially in those cases when the noun and the verb diverge formally, for example with *-ing* ending borrowings. Thus, *brainstorming, bungee-jumping, head-hunting, dumping, hedging, trading,* and *tuning* are prototypical examples of cultural loanwords entering Romanian in order to designate frequently discussed concepts, activities, processes, etc. As

such, they do not require a high level of English proficiency on the part of those using them. The employment of the corresponding verbs in Romanian discourse would, however, require a more advanced level of bilingualism. If this hypothesis is correct, we can establish a connection between psycho-social factors, such as bilingual ability in the source language, and particular patterns of loanword incorporation, e.g. the occurrence of BCVs.

Finally, Bentahilla and Davies (1983) believe that the factors which influence inter-language transfers are not only of a referential and denotative nature (availability of vocabulary), but also connected to the connotative and stylistic facets of language, so that a switch which is theoretically possible may still be judged unacceptable for any of these reasons. From this perspective, the borrowing of some English verbs in the *Capital* 2005 corpus may have been considered odd by the writer for purely pragmatic and stylistic reasons.

This chapter has shown that some of the borrowed words in *Capital* 2005, most notably adjectives, are very little integrated from a morphological point of view, although their integration into the syntactic frame of Romanian is almost categorical. At the opposite end of the integration continuum, verbs are almost always adapted to Romanian, both morphologically and syntactically, but they are very often borrowed as nominals within VPs rather than as lexical verbs. The different behaviour of borrowed nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs, as well as the idiosyncracies found within each of these individual classes, shows that linguistic integration is not uniform, but regulated by variables such as word class, frequency of use, and proficiency in the source language.

CHAPTER VI: CODE-SWITCHES

6.1 Embedded Language islands: theoretical considerations

The analysis of code-switches in this book will be based on a theoretical model developed by Myers-Scotton in several works starting with 1990. This model is called the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model, and it has appeared as a reaction to the abundance of counterexamples to the various constraints on code-switching proposed in the literature (Poplack, 1980; Woolford, 1983; DiSciullo, Muysken, and Singh, 1986). Rather than trying to find some specific constraints on code-switching, this model constitutes a more general, theoretically rooted framework for the explanation of this language contact phenomenon. Underlying the MLF model is a definition of code-switching as

> (…) the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation. (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 3)

The MLF model is built around two central notions, which underlie its basic principles and hypotheses– the matrix language (ML) and the embedded language (EL). According to the ML Hypothesis "the Matrix Language is simply a label for the abstract morphosyntactic frame of an utterance" (Myers-Scotton, 2002: 58), applying equally to monolingual and bilingual speech; it is the speaker's dominant language, providing the grammatical frame in mixed constituents, while the EL contributes some of the content words. Two important principles follow from this hypothesis.

Firstly, the Morpheme Order Principle states that

> In ML + EL constituents consisting of singly occurring EL lexemes and any number of ML morphemes, surface morpheme order (reflecting surface syntactic relations) will be that of the ML. (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 83)

In other words, the matrix language sets the syntactic frame for foreign insertions. This dimension of study signals a major departure from Poplack et al. and other related approaches: while these authors place great emphasis on the integrity of the contributing languages, which alternate during code-switching but preserve their structural identity, in Myers-Scotton's model only the matrix language must maintain its structure in code-switching, inserted material having to conform to ML rules (Backus 1996: 75).

Another important principle of the MLF model is the System Morpheme Principle:

> In ML + EL constituents, all system morphemes that have grammatical relations external to their head constituent (i.e. which participate in the sentence's thematic role grid) will come from the ML. (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 83)

This principle blocks EL system morphemes that are 'syntactically relevant' or take part in agreement relations external to their head (for example inflections and function words) from being used in mixed constituents, while allowing the occurrence of EL derivational morphology and EL plural nouns. However, if such syntactically relevant morphemes do occur, they must be encapsulated in an island and are likely to be peripheral to the sentence frame and/or of idiomatic nature. These requirements are stipulated in the EL Implicational Hierarchy Hypothesis:

> Optional EL islands occur; generally they are only those constituents which are either formulaic or idiomatic or peripheral to the main grammatical arguments of the sentence. (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 7)

These principles can be used to explain the behaviour of English words borrowed into Romanian, as described in the previous

chapters. Thus, the almost categorical syntactic integration of nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs can be seen as a result of the fact that the Matrix Language (Romanian) imposes its word order rules on the foreign lexical items inserted into its structure, in compliance with the specifications of the Morpheme Order Principle. Similarly, the morphological integration of these borrowings takes place in a very large number of cases, in accordance with the requirements of the System Morpheme Principle, and is avoided in other cases, presumably as a result of some structural mismatches existing between Romanian and English and of various other psycho-social factors. Those instances of two- or multi-word phrases that obey English morphosyntactic rules will be analysed in this chapter as Embedded Language islands.

The MLF model distinguishes three kinds of 'islands': mixed ML+EL constituents, with morphemes from two or more languages, ML islands–constituents from the ML only and formed in accordance with its grammar, and EL islands–constituents from the EL only and formed in accordance with its grammar (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 77-78). In addition to well-formedness in their language, another characteristic of ML or EL islands is that they "must show structural dependency relations" (Myers-Scotton, 1993: 78), i.e. they must consist of at least two morphemes (for example adjective and noun). The MLF model also predicts that these islands occur at places compatible with ML word order rules.

The occurrence of Embedded Language islands is structurally and pragmatically motivated (Myers-Scotton, 2002: 144-145). Thus, these constructions are presumably triggered by some lack of congruence existing between the EL and ML grammars at a particular switch point, a situation which is resolved by resorting to a larger switch at that particular point. As regards the pragmatic motivations triggering EL islands, it is argued that these foreign elements result from some perceived lack of lexical-conceptual

congruence between recipient and source language material in certain areas of the vocabulary. In other words, from a communicative point of view, foreign language lexemes express certain concepts better than native ones:

> That is, there is a semantic or pragmatic mismatch between the two languages at the lexical conceptual level and the speaker's intentions are better satisfied by producing the Embedded Language element or the Embedded Language island. (Myers-Scotton, 2002: 145)

From this perspective, it seems that the factors promoting the introduction of code-switched elements into a language are not very different from those promoting borrowing in general: need and prestige. The way these underlying factors combine to trigger the insertion of various English phrases into Romanian can be analysed in relation to phrasal Anglicisms in *Capital* 2005. Thus, most of these two- or multi-word importations designate professions, jobs, and novel concepts in the economic field or in other related fields. Since these concepts are discussed in the media following the emergence in Romania of some new types of economic entities (multinational companies, large corporations), it can be argued that their designations answer a specific need in the language, therefore being akin to classical cultural borrowings. The following examples contain code-switches that describe cultural novelties:

> (1) Începând cu 1998, el a ocupat poziția de LOGISTICS MANAGER, iar apoi, de OPERATIONS MANAGER.
> 'Starting with 1998, he occupied the position of Logistics Manager, and then that of Operations Manager. '
>
> (2) ..., banca îşi va dezvolta serviciile de CASH MANAGEMENT prin facilitate de DIRECT DEBIT şi STANDING ORDER.
> '..., the bank will develop its cash management services through a direct debit and standing order facility. '

However, sometimes the English phrases used in the corpus seem to add nothing from a denotative point of view, Romanian having synonymous expressions to render the same meaning. For example,

in the sentences below *professor of marketing* and *profesor de marketing*, *oil producer* and *producător de petrol* are semantically equivalent:

(3) Compania are trei asociaţi: (…), D. M., PROFESSOR OF MARKETING la Programul MBA Româno-Canadian, …
'The company has three partners: (…), D.M., professor of marketing at the Romanian–Canadian MBA Programme, …'

(4) În Franţa, şi cam în toată Europa de Vest nivelul taxelor este între 60 şi 70%, chiar dacă ţara respectivă este OIL PRODUCER …
'In France, as well as in most of Western Europe, the tax level is between 60 and 70%, even if that country is *oil producer** (an oil producer) ….'

In these cases, it can be argued that the Embedded Language island has a different connotation from that of its Matrix Language equivalent (i.e. high social status and modernity), being used for reasons of prestige rather than need. Thus, according to Myers-Scotton (2002: 145) the pragmatic force of the two expressions is different, as "saying something in the Embedded Language often conveys a desired connotation–or simply has more cachet."

Embedded Language islands can also be described from the perspective of language production mechanisms. Thus, the Embedded Language is 'on' or activated in some sense when these islands are produced, while Matrix Language procedures are inhibited. Moreover, since many of the EL islands can be described as 'chunks', 'composite expressions', or 'complex units' (Backus, 1999 as cited in Myers-Scotton, 2002: 141), and since producing such phrases compositionally would involve a higher level of activation than producing them as whole units, therefore requiring more production effort, the occurrence of these constructions can be interpreted as being easier in a psycholinguistic sense.

This explanation accommodates most of the examples of code-switched elements in our corpus, as they refer to established and widespread notions, ideas, processes, phenomena in the economic field and should be seen as prefabricated linguistic units rather than

compositionally assembled elements. Thus, although showing some semantic transparency, phrases like *account manager, business start, marketing research, investment broker, home banking, head of corporate affairs, in the trading floor, higher highs and lower lows,* and many others are not completely free combinations, as their frequency of occurrence and entrenchment in the language lend them to an interpretation in their entirety rather than as the sum of their component parts. The examples below illustrate some of these phrases:

> (5) … se observă o tendință de normalizare a acestei situații, oferta de servicii auxiliare fiind în creştere, în special cele de "CATEGORY MANAGEMENT" …
> '… this situation tends to normalize, the provision of auxiliary services, especially those of „category management", being on the increase …'

> (6) Am constatat (…) după studii şi primele experiențe "IN THE TRADING FLOOR" că (…) istoria cursurilor se repetă.
> 'We have found (…) after studies and the first experiences „in the trading floor" that (…) the history of exchange rates repeats itself. '

> (7) … scăderile survenite după minimele din martie sunt nivele din ce în ce mai ridicate–HIGHER HIGHS AND LOWER LOWS constituind o consolidare a nivelelor actuale …
> '… the decreases which occurred after the March lows are increasingly higher levels–higher highs and lower lows, constituting a consolidation of the current levels …'

> (8) Din 1972 în 1981 a fost Associate Professor of Acquisition and Project Management la School of Logistics at the Air University, …
> 'From 1972 to 1981 he was Associate Professor of Acquisition and Project Management at School of Logistics at the Air University, …'

Phrasal Anglicisms in *Capital* 2005 can also be analysed in the light of Clyne's (1967, 2003) triggering theory. This theory states that a word in one language can trigger a switch to another language, especially if that word is phonologically similar to a counterpart in the second language. Following this line of reasoning, we believe that the use of an English word in Romanian discourse can trigger the use of

another English word or expression. The triggering hypothesis is in line with the speech production theories discussed before, as it is based on the idea of ease of production stemming from the activation of only one language at a time.

From this perspective, we believe that the use of the conjunction *and* in examples (7) and (8) above can be interpreted as requiring less production effort than that of its Romanian equivalent *şi*: once English is 'on', it remains activated for the entire length of the English phrase. Similar cases are the more formulaic expressions *buy and hold, sales and marketing manager, trace and tracking, voice and choice*. Those situations when such coordinated phrases are seemingly "broken" by the Romanian *şi* do not invalidate this interpretation. Thus, the first elements in *top şi middle management, executive şi life coaching* are an established loan (*top*) and a bilingual cognate (*executive*) respectively, which means that Romanian rather than English might be 'on' at the beginning of these phrases. Finally, we believe that the choice between entirely English constructions (EL islands) and Romanian-English hybrids (EL + ML constituents) will depend on a number of other variables, among which speakers'/writers' bilingual ability and language attitudes are probably the most important ones.

6.2 Embedded Language islands in the present study

In this study, the code-switch notion will be equated with that of the EL island. Following Myers-Scotton (1993, 2002), we regard as an EL island any multi-word element framed by the Romanian matrix language and showing internal structural dependency relations. Such dependency relations can involve nouns and their modifiers (e.g. *corporate community relations, customer relations management, external affairs manager*), verbs and their objects and adverbials (e.g. *push to talk, made in China*), as well as adjectives and their modifiers

(e.g. *smart casual, politically correct*), or prepositions and nouns (e.g. *below the line, after school, in the trading floor*). The examples below illustrate typical Embedded Language islands in *Capital* 2005:

> (9) Ultimele două lumânări japoneze formează un BULLISH ENGULFING PATTERN, care în această poziție constituie un element pozitiv/bullish de schimbare de trend.
> 'The last two Japanese candles form a bullish engulfing pattern, which, in this position, constitutes a positive/bullish trend-changing element.'
>
> (10) O restructurare BY DEFAULT, adică prin forța lucrurilor.
> 'A restructuring by default, that is in the normal course of events. '
>
> (11) Sud-coreenii de la LG anunță lansarea serviciului "PUSH TO VIEW". Există deja "PUSH TO TALK", …
> 'The South Koreans from LG are announcing the "push to view" service. "Push to talk" already exists, …'
>
> (12) Pentru sfârşitul anului 2006, ambele posturi estimează câte o cotă de piață de 2,5% pe publicul țintă vizat şi 1,5% în mediul ALL URBAN.
> 'For the end of 2006, both channels estimate a market share of 2.5% for the target audience and 1.5% in the all urban environment. '

A special situation is constituted by those cases when two or several English elements are juxtaposed, following Romanian word order specifications and showing no structural dependency relations to each other. Some researchers exclude such cases from the class of EL islands (Myers-Scotton, 2002: 142- 143), while others advocate their unitary interpretation. For example, Muysken puts forth an Adjacency Principle which states the following:

> If in a code-mixed sentence, two adjacent elements are drawn from the same language, an analysis is preferred in which at some level of representation (syntax, processing) these elements also form a unit. (Muysken, 2000: 61)

Although such adjacent constructions may be related at a language-production and processing level, we believe that they do not constitute islands according to the definition given to the term in the

literature. As a result, examples such as those below will be treated as representing multiple, juxtaposed switches in the present study:

> (13) … va ocupa postul de SENIOR VICEPRESIDENT, ADVISER EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, pentru Europa Centrală şi de Est.
> '… he will hold the position of senior vicepresident, external affairs adviser for Central and Eastern Europe. '
>
> (14) Aceeaşi nemulţumire şi la Hewlett Packard, unde I. I., Country Manager Imaging and Printing, spune …
> 'The same complaint at Hewlett Packard too, where I.I., Imaging and Printing Country Manager says …'

The following sections of this chapter will analyse different aspects of code-switches: their quantitative impact in the studied corpus, the relative frequency of the words entering them, their internal structure, and their morphosyntactic integration into Romanian.

6.3 Quantitative considerations

There are 860 code-switches in the *Capital* 2005 corpus, but their frequency of occurrence is much more limited than that shown by borrowings. Thus, they occur in a total of 2,497 instances, which indicates a repetition rate of less than 3. Moreover, corresponding to the 860 code-switched types are a number of 787 lemmas (heads of phrases); this shows the very limited inflectional diversity of phrasal importations from English in the studied corpus, on average every code-switched lemma being used in only one, most of the times uninflected, form. This situation is somehow similar to that found for compounds in Chapter 4, pointing towards the formal similarity between these two classes. A quantitative overview of code-switches in terms of (head of phrase) lemmas, types, and tokens is presented in Table 6.1 below.

	Lemmas	Types	Tokens	Type/ lemma ratio	Frequency (token/ type)
Total no. of Anglicisms	1,723	2,302	23,026	1.33	10
No. of code-switches	787	860	2,497	1.09	2.9
Percentage of code-switches/ total no. of Anglicisms	45.67%	37.35%	10.84%		

Table 6.1 Number of phrasal Anglicisms (lemmas / types / tokens) in *Capital* 2005

The table above shows that every code-switched type in the corpus has an average frequency of occurrence of 2.9. However, as shown in Chapter 3, Figure 3.3, as many as 78% of all code-switched elements in *Capital* 2005 are used only once, 16% occur for two or three times, and relatively few (4%) appear for four times or more. Among the most often used phrasal Anglicisms in the corpus are expressions designating jobs and professions in the economic field (*e.g. managing director, general manager, marketing manager, project manager, PR manager*), or other economic entities, concepts, and processes (*e.g. low cost, internet banking, open source, call center, city break, joint venture, mobile banking, hedge funds*). In detail, Appendix 1 lists the 100 most frequent code-switched types in the *Capital* 2005 corpus.

The data in this appendix reveals an apparent contradiction between the status of some phrases as code-switches based on structural criteria, and their high frequency of occurrence in the corpus, and therefore presumably established character in the language. This contradiction is reminiscent of the many inconsistencies that complicate the borrowing/code-switching dichotomy, and, as shown in Chapter 1.2, it cannot be resolved without a compromise. While frequency of occurrence is of some value in classifying the products of language contact, we believe that a classification on more objective grounds, such as number of words

forming a phrase and its internal structure, provides a more solid basis for the description and interpretation of English words and phrases in contemporary Romanian.

Once code-switched elements had been ranked according to their frequency of occurrence, another concern was to identify the individual words most often used inside these phrases. The results of this analysis are presented in Table 6.2 below.

Word	**Number of code-switches**	**Number of occurrences**
manager	94	319
business	34	74
marketing	32	74
director	29	192
senior	28	121
of	26	53
in	21	36
management	21	132
sales	17	37
and	16	23
home	16	22
service	16	42
the	16	19
middle	15	90
officer	15	28
top	15	83
made	14	25
corporate	13	33
media	13	71
banking	12	122
to	12	23
account	11	19
brand	11	22
consumer	11	20
customer	10	14
DVD	10	45

head	10	16
retail	10	37

Table 6.2 Most common words used inside code-switches (*Capital* 2005)

The English words most often used as heads of phrases are *manager*, *director, management, officer, banking,* and *head*. In detail, 94 noun phrases occurring in a total of 319 instances are headed by *manager*. The most often used combinations with this word are *general manager*, *marketing manager*, *country manager*, *brand manager*, *project manager*, and *PR manager*. Twenty-nine noun phrases are headed by *director*, the most common ones being *art director* and *managing director*.

The vast majority of high-frequency words entering code-switches are used as modifiers. Most of these words are nouns relating to business, media, and finance, which are central topics in the studied publication. For example:

business + *plan, intelligence, development, angel, brand, consultant, management, center, start, administration, law*

marketing + *officer, department, manager, coordinator, research, representative, sales*

home + *banking, bar, cinema, design, decoration, interior, entertainment, theater*

Some premodifying nouns combine with a large number of heads. For example, *business* is used in 34 separate code-switches, the most common phrases with this word being *business intelligence, business plan,* and *business administration*. Other well-represented modifying words are *senior, marketing, senior, sales, corporate, home, customer, media, account, brand, consumer, customer, DVD, internet,* and *retail.* Overall, the large number of premodifying words that combine with many heads can be explained as a characteristic of news writing, which needs to employ “very dense, integrated packaging of

information", so as to answer space-saving considerations (Biber et al., 2000: 593). Such modifier + head constructions typically "convey a complex meaning in condensed form", thus answering this need for brevity and conciseness.

6.4 Structural considerations

The largest number of code-switched elements in the corpus are NPs, followed by VPs, PPs, and AdjPs. In detail, Table 6.3 below shows the distribution of phrasal Anglicisms across different types of constituents:

Type of constituent	% of total (types)	Types	Tokens	Frequency
Noun phrase	89.88%	773	2,317	2.99
Verb phrase	3.72%	32	64	2.00
Adjective phrase	1.16%	10	33	3.30
Prepositional phrase	1.51%	13	17	1.30

Table 6.3 Types of phrasal Anglicisms in *Capital* 2005

The overwhelming predominance of noun phrases in the total of phrasal Anglicisms reflects the main function these foreign elements perform in the studied corpus: to designate new concepts, relations, processes, and activities, which are most typically encoded as nominals. In terms of their internal structure, a large part of the English NPs code-switched in *Capital* 2005 are formed by premodification, others are formed by postmodification, while a third category has resulted from both premodification and postmodification. In detail, the table below shows the proportion held by each of these grammatical structures in the total of code-switched NPs.

Type of modification	% of the total (types)	Types	Tokens	Frequency
Premodification	93.27%	721	2,224	3.08
Postmodification	5.17%	40	77	1.92
Premodification and postmodification	0.65%	5	6	1.20
Coordinated NPs	0.91%	7	10	1.42
Total	100%	773	2,317	

Table 6.4 Noun phrases in *Capital* 2005 by structural type

A very large number of premodified noun phrases (approx. 70%) comprise only one modifier. However, some phrases in the corpus (about 20%) show two-word premodification, and a relatively low percentage show three- or four-word premodification. The examples below illustrate each of these separate cases:

(15) … sunt bine reprezentate competențele de tip "HARD SKILLS", şi slab sau chiar foarte slab reprezentate competențele de tip "SOFT SKILLS".
'*Competences of the „hard skills" type** („Hard skills") are well represented, and *competences of the „soft skills" type** („soft skills") are poorly or very poorly represented. '

(16) Un Customer Care Center devine, aşadar, un element vital al relației dintre un operator de telecom şi clienții săi …
'Thus, a Customer Care Center becomes an essential element in the relationship between a telecom operator and his customers …'

(17) Piața dulciurilor s-a dezvoltat şi diversificat foarte mult în ultimii ani, (…), afirmă A. Z., Marketing &Client Service Manager …
'The sweets market has grown and diversified very much in the past years, (…), says A.Z., Marketing &Client Service Manager …'

(18) Acum un an toți erau foarte reticenți în această privință, (…), spune C. D., Retail & System Builder Account Manager …
'A year ago everybody was very reticent about this, (…), says C. D., Retail & System Builder Account Manager …'

Most typical premodifiers include nouns and adjectives. Noun + noun constructions are by far the best represented ones, followed by adjective + noun constructions and various other three- or four-word

combinations. The most common structural patterns found in code-switched NPs across the studied corpus are presented in the following table:

Pattern	Examples
Noun + *noun*	*banner exchange, bottom line, business center, consumer finance, internet banking, investment director, venture capital, web browser*
Adjective + *noun*	*bad debt, corporate manager, external affairs, new business, private banking, public relations, social engineering*
Noun + noun + *noun*	*client service director, consumer price index, enterprise resource planning, loyalty retention manager*
Adjective + noun + *noun*	*deputy country manager, external relations director, key account manager, senior tax manager*
Adjective + adjective + *noun*	*bullish engulfing pattern, economic common sense, executive creative director, upper middle class*
Noun + noun + noun + *noun*	*channel field sales manager, MBS partner account manager*
Other (four words or more)	*international business &interconnection manager, marketing officer & PR specialist, mobile virtual network operators, positive and negative volume index, customer services and loyalty manager*

Table 6.5 Most frequent phrasal Anglicisms in *Capital* 2005 by structural type

The use of multiple premodifiers is very efficient, packing information in condensed form. On the other hand, the employment of such structures presents the disadvantage of placing "a heavy burden on readers and listeners, since the logical relations among constituents must be inferred" (Biber et al., 2000: 597). For example, in some of the phrases listed above all modifiers describe attributes of the head noun, by providing "the identification, classification, or description of the head noun referent" (Biber et al., 2000: 599). In particular, noun phrases formed with two modifying adjectives, two noun modifiers, or a noun and an adjective modifier behave in this way: *area sales manager, group brand manager, group product physician,*

chief executive officer, gross domestic product, junior residential broker, senior middle management, cordless optical mouse, bullish engulfing pattern, chief technology officer, online satisfaction surveys, senior art director.

In other cases, however, the structural patterns described in Table 6.5 reflect embedded modification, with some words modifying other premodifiers rather than directly modifying the head noun. Most three-word or longer phrases (noun + noun + noun, adjective + noun + noun) contain several levels of embedding: *[south area] manager, [short message] system, [private wealth] management, [head office] manager, [corporate affairs] manager, [business development] manager, [client service] director, [enterprise resource] planning, [customer relations] management, [consumer confidence] index, [peace building] commission, [mobile virtual network] operator.*

Finally, the corpus contains several cases of coordinated premodifiers directly modifying the head noun: *legal & tax manager, training & development manager, sales & marketing director, sales and marketing manager, retail & private banking*. Sometimes, two noun phrases are coordinated: *business strategy & regulatory affairs, Domestic Appliance & Personal Care, Desktop Marketing and Strategic Planning, higher highs and lower lows.*

Another category of noun phrases in the studied corpus are formed by postmodification. The most common postmodifiers entering code-switched elements are prepositional phrases, with several prepositions used as heads: *for, to, in, of, on, per, at*, and *over*. As it is partly evident from Table 6.2, the distribution of these prepositions across phrasal Anglicisms is not uniform, some of them being both more often used and more productive than others. Thus, the best distributed preposition is *of*: *head of corporate affairs, head of office, master of business administration, professor of marketing, speaker of the board, window of opportunity, woman of the year.* Prepositional phrases headed by *in* and *to* are also relatively well-represented,

while *for, on, at, over,* and *per* are less common, both in terms of the number of phrases containing them, and in terms of their total number of occurrence in the corpus. Phrasal Anglicisms that use these prepositions include *director in charge, business-to-business, peer-to-peer, return on investment, voice over the internet, value at risk, value for money.*

Postmodifiers can consist of only one layer, or they can include multiple structures, for example multiple noun or prepositional phrases. Thus, several phrasal Anglicisms in the corpus contain postmodiers showing various layers of embedding: *Head of corporate communication, Master of business administration, PhD in public policy of management.* Finally, a small number of code-switched elements in *Capital* 2005 show both premodification and postmodification. These are: *account manager for public sector, candle chart for euro, assistant professor of finance, associate professor of acquisition and project management,* and *total cost of ownership.*

6.5 Integration of code-switched elements

The morphosyntactic integration of phrasal Anglicisms in the *Capital* 2005 corpus will be analysed along the lines set for simple borrowings in Chapter 5, with an emphasis on the extent to which their usage follows matrix language specifications or diverges from its norms. Since the majority of code-switches in the present study are noun phrases, special attention will be given to the way in which these phrases are marked for number, case, and definiteness. Gender assignment will not be investigated for two reasons. Firstly, a large number of phrasal Anglicisms are headed by *manager, director, officer,* and other nouns whose gender has already been discussed in Chapter 5. Secondly, the emphasis will be placed here on the grammatical ties existing between these EL islands and the matrix language, not on their intrinsic semantic properties.

The plural formation of nominal code-switches diverges quite significantly from that of nominal borrowings. Thus, from the total of 773 English noun phrases in the corpus, only 112 types (approx. 15%) have plural referents. This situation can be explained as a result of the fact that few phrasal Anglicisms are employed with a general meaning, most of them serving a very specific referential function (i.e. to designate job titles) and being used as appositions to names. In this context, we believe that these expressions are closer to proper than to common nouns, many of them being capitalized.

Out of all nominal phrasal Anglicisms with plural referents, almost 60 percent use the English plural ending, and less than 30% are affixed with Romanian plural morphemes. These findings stand in sharp contrast to the results found for borrowings, where only about 5% of all nouns form the plural with the English *-s*, while an overwhelming 90% obtain native plural marking. Similarly, a significantly higher number of noun phrases with plural referents remain uninflected for number. In detail, Table 6.6 below shows the statistics for plural formation in multi-word English elements used in *Capital* 2005.

Plural formation	**Types**	**% (types)**	**Tokens**	**% (tokens)**	**Frequency**
Romanian plural	32	28.57%	53	26.37%	1.65
English plural	66	58.93%	106	52.74%	1.60
Zero plural	14	12.5%	42	20.89%	3.00
Total nouns with plural referents	112	100%	201	100%	

Table 6.6 Plural formation in phrasal Anglicisms (*Capital* 2005)

Examples of phrasal Anglicisms using English and zero plurals include:

(19) …, semnele inflaționiste pot apărea pe nepusă masă: de la Capacity Utilisation de 80% (nivel … care derivă din Factory Orders în

creştere la 2,9% faţă de numai 2,7% în luna precedentă) şi până la Labour Costs …
'… inflationary signs can appear unexpectedly: from Capacity Utilisation of 80% (a level … deriving from Factory Orders being up to 2.9% from only 2.7% in the previous month) to Labour Costs …'

(20) … 65% din vânzări sunt "PASSENGER CARS" iar restul este deţinut de modelele 4x4 inclusiv pick-up-uri.
'… 65% of sales are represented by „passenger cars", and the rest is held by 4x4 models, including pick-ups. '

(21) Net Capital Inflows depinde de apariţia investiţiilor străine în ţara respectivă …
'Net Capital Inflows *depends** (depend) on foreign investments in that country …'

(22) Acele Hedge Funds, prin strategiile lor complexe, doreau ca nivelul să fie păstrat până la sfârşitul lunii …
'Through their complex strategies, those Hedge Funds wanted to maintain the level until the end of the month …'

(23) Noul lanţ de FASHION CAFÉ va avea 12 locaţii.
'The new *chain of fashion cafe** (chain of fashion cafes) will have 12 locations. '

(24) … mi-au atras atenţia aşa zisele "QUIET ROOM", nişte birouri cu un perete din sticlă şi două fotolii şi o măsuţă, …
'… my attention was drawn to the so-called *„quiet room"** („quiet rooms"), glass-walled offices with two armchairs and a coffee table, …'

The genitive/dative morphemes are also omitted much more often with phrasal than with simple Anglicisms. Thus, of all the English NPs that should have received genitive/dative marking according to Romanian grammar rules, more than 45% remain uninflected. The statistics for phrasal Anglicisms using genitive/dative case marking are presented in the table below.

	Types	% (types)	Tokens	% (tokens)	Frequency
Genitive/dative marking	23	53.49%	44	63.77%	1.91
Zero marking	20	46.51%	25	36.23%	1.25
Total	43	100%	69	100%	

Table 6.7 Genitive/dative case in phrasal Anglicisms (*Capital* 2005)

Examples of English noun phrases lacking case morphology include:

(25) Acest program, (…) se va derula sub formă de seminarii pe 4 continente: în Lorena, în inima AUTOMOBILE VALLEY europene, …
'This programme, (…) will consist of seminars on 4 continents: in Lorena, in the heart of the European automobile valley, …'

(26) Revenind la indicatori, se observă participarea "SMART" ŞI "DUMB MONEY" la creşterea recentă, ceea ce întăreşte caracterul puternic bullish.
'Coming back to the indicators, we notice the contribution of „smart" and „dumb money" to the recent increase, which consolidates its markedly bullish character. '

(27) Politica fiscală necorespunzătoare (…) pe mulţi dintre membrii LOWER-MIDDLE CLASS îi trimite în rândurile clasei de jos.
'The inappropriate fiscal policy (…) sends many members of the lower-middle class to the lower class. '

Finally, cases of definite article omission are also significantly more numerous with phrasal than with simple Anglicisms, as it can be seen from the table below:

Article	**Types**	**% (types)**	**Tokens**	**% (tokens)**	**Frequency**
Definite article	55	83.33%	122	89.71%	2.21
Zero article	11	16.67%	14	10.29%	1.27
Total	66	100%	136	100%	
Indefinite article	43		77		1.79

Table 6.8 Number of phrasal Anglicisms used with the definite and the indefinite articles in *Capital* 2005

The following examples illustrate the omission of the obligatory Romanian article with phrasal Anglicisms. Note the use of the article with the other nouns in the juxtaposed phrase in example 28.

(28) Într-un top al profitabilităţii pe anul 2004, construcţii*le*, REAL ESTATE, turism*ul* şi industri*a* mobilei au fost principalele domenii pentru oamenii de afaceri din Braşov.

'In a profitability ranking for 2004, constructions, real estate, tourism, and furniture manufacturing were the main fields of activity for business people in Brasov. '

(29) … nu se introduceau SHORT-SELL şi tranzacții on-line pentru că nu aveam o bursă matură.
'… short-sell and online transactions would not have been introduced because we didn't have a mature stock exchange …'

(30). … dintre cele trei canale de distributie electronicã a serviciilor bancare, cea mai mare utilizare în viitor o va avea Internet Banking, iar cea mai micã Mobile Banking.
'… from the three electronic distribution channels for banking services, the largest usage will be held in the future by Internet Banking, and the smallest by Mobile Banking. '

(31). Costul biletului se reduce considerabil dacã se aplicã "SUNDAY RULE", adicã petreceti o sâmbãtã noapte în orasul respectiv.
'The flight fare is considerably lower if „Sunday rule" applies, that is if you spend a Saturday night in that city. '

To conclude the discussion on code-switches, it is obvious from the statistics presented so far that the integration of these elements proceeds much more slowly than that of simple borrowings. This situation can be explained in terms of their low frequency of occurrence, but also as a result of their formal complexity and semantic unity, characteristics which make them behave like monolithic chunks of language inserted into the matrix of Romanian. This, in turn, leads to considerable difficulty in "handling" them from a morphological point of view. Where integration has taken place, it can be argued that this process was facilitated by the existence inside these phrases of high-frequency Anglicisms (e.g. *manager*, *brand*, *plan*, *player*, *disc*, *shop*), mostly acting as heads and carrying all the necessary inflections for number, case, or definiteness.

The separate analysis of code-switches and borrowings has revealed some aspects of their integration into Romanian which would not have become evident if the two categories had been

treated as one class. Thus, it seems that both the linguistic and the social integration of English elements transferred into Romanian are conditioned by several factors such as length, formal complexity, and frequency of use, with the result that single words (borrowings or simple Anglicisms) are integrated more easily than multi-word phrases (code-switches or phrasal Anglicisms). On the other hand, the many similarities existing between the ways code-switches and borrowings behave from a morphosyntactic point of view show that they are not fundamentally different, and should probably be seen along a continuum rather than as two separate classes. Thus, both types of Anglicisms show almost categorical syntactic integration into the recipient language and various degrees of adaptation to its morphological system. In this light, the differences existing between them become a matter of degree, rather than one of kind.

CONCLUSIONS

The main hypothesis on which the present book has been based is that there is an upward trend in the number of English-origin elements entering present-day Romanian. These English-origin elements, or more generally Anglicisms, can be divided into two broad categories–borrowings and code-switches–each of them having separate evolution patterns and a different behaviour as regards their integration into the recipient language. From the perspective of these general premises, several conclusions can be formulated.

As far as the quantitative impact of Anglicisms in the corpus of *Capital* 1998 - 2005 is concerned, there is clear evidence showing that the language of the magazine is faced with an upward trend in the number of lexical transfers from English, be they single words or phrases. In detail, in 1998 the publication contained an average of one English word for every 63.45 Romanian word types and for every 172.41 word tokens. By 2005 the density of borrowed terms increased to one Anglicism for every 36.56 Romanian word types and for every 103.54 tokens. We believe that these findings confirm the generally held belief that the number of Anglicisms is on the increase in contemporary Romanian.

This general increase in the number of English-origin words is accompanied by a shift from borrowing to code-switching or from the importation of simple words to that of longer phrases. Thus, phrasal Anglicisms increased from 25% of all types in 1998 to 37% in 2005. If we interpret this evolution in the light of some theories put forth in the language contact literature (Backus, 1996; Myers-Scotton, 2006), we can conclude that the change in the length and complexity

of English elements entering Romanian mirrors an increasing level of bilingualism among the writers of the magazine.

The distribution of simple Anglicisms across frequency ranges remained relatively stable in the studied period, a large percentage of these words appearing merely once in the corpus. However, several individual borrowings saw a dramatic change from 1998 to 2005, sometimes causing disruptions in the way their Romanian equivalents were used. The most representative examples in this respect are *brand* and *retail,* which effected some significant changes in the distribution of the native *marcă, en-detail,* and *cu amănuntul.* Appendix 4a offers a database showing the numerical development of several hundred Anglicisms from 1998 to 2005.

The qualitative analysis of borrowings in the corpus of *Capital* 2005 has shown that this category of English elements is made up exclusively of content words, i.e. nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs, with no function words being brought into Romanian outside larger English phrases. The hierarchy of borrowability we have put forth in this book only vaguely reflects the distribution of various word classes in monolingual Romanian texts, some borrowed word classes exceeding by more than three times their representation in monolingual material (nouns), while others lag far behind the proportion held by their native correspondents (verbs, prepositions, adverbs, numerals, etc).

The prevalence of nouns over other parts of speech is, in a way, a direct consequence of the factors promoting borrowing in the particular contact situation studied here: the need to name new concepts, processes, activities, or objects representing importations from the Anglo-Saxon culture, but also the prestige associated with this culture and consequently with the English language. Although prestige motivations can be very important in contact situations, we believe that the majority of English words in the studied corpus are

cultural borrowings, answering various referential and communicative needs in the language of the magazine.

From a structural point of view, a considerable number of borrowed words (about 25%) in the *Capital* 2005 corpus are compounds, and almost 40% are formed by derivation. The most often used and productive prefixes are *e-* and *out-*, while the best represented suffixes are *-ing* and *-er*. English derivational and inflectional morphology is almost exclusively used on foreign words, with very few cases of affixes being used on native stems. These affixes are not prototypical bound morphemes, their relation to the noun head being similar to that of adjectives: *e-mandat, e-facturi, cyber-activişti, cyber-fotografi*. The only inflectional morphemes borrowed together with their stems are the plural affix *–s* and the past participle ending *-ed*.

Borrowing from English into Romanian proceeds in compliance with the structural requirements imposed by the recipient language, and takes place at those points where the two languages share similar structures. In addition to this, the English elements borrowed into the language of the studied magazine are those generally predicted for situations of distant contact (Thomason and Kaufman 1988): a relatively large number of lexical items, but which do not bring about any major structural influences from the source language.

Borrowed elements are generally integrated in conformity with Romanian grammar rules. The areas where the introduction of English words can lead to a departure from Romanian conventional usage are plural formation, genitive/dative case marking, and definiteness. More exactly, the employment of the English plural morpheme in Romanian discourse, the omission of plural marking on borrowed nouns with plural referents, the omission of genitive/dative morphemes, and the omission of the definite article

on nouns requiring definiteness illustrate a departure from the Romanian linguistic norm.

However, these bare forms represent a relatively low percentage of the total of Anglicisms in the corpus. Consequently, omissions such as those described above can be regarded as idiosyncrasies in the writing of some individual journalists, rather than characterizing the Romanian language as a whole. The factors leading to their appearance are structural (lack of congruence between English and Romanian at certain points) and psycho-social (increased level of bilingualism leading to interferences from the source language when writing in Romanian). Moreover, these instances of unconventional usage are not innovations in Romanian, already existing in the language in a marginal form.

Borrowed verbs show almost categorical integration into Romanian morphosyntactic structures. At the other pole, adjectives are almost always left unmarked for gender, number and case, a situation which results from the more peripheral role this word class has in the sentence. However, the importance of this phenomenon should not be exaggerated, as adjectival Anglicisms represent a low percentage of all Anglicisms (approx 9% of all types and 6% of all tokens) and a negligible amount when compared to the total number of Romanian adjectives in the corpus (about 250,000 tokens). In the light of these findings, we do not agree with those researchers who speak about a considerable increase in the number of invariant adjectives brought about by the English influence on present-day Romanian.

The analysis of two- and multi-word English phrases reveals a different situation from that found for borrowings. Thus, all grammatical deviations described in relation to simple Anglicisms also characterize phrasal Anglicisms, but to a much larger extent. For example, from all the noun phrases having a plural referent, more than 60% show English *–s* suffixation, about 12% receive zero plural

marking, while less than 30% use Romanian plural morphemes. This situation lends support to the methodological decision to analyse the two classes of English elements separately in the present book.

This decision was motivated by the desire to obtain detailed information regarding the integration of English words and phrases in Romanian, and it is not grounded in the assumption that borrowing and code-switching are fundamentally different processes. Moreover, the terminological premises on which this study is based point towards a fundamental similarity between borrowing and code-switching, which are seen as different facets of the same phenomenon and described by the same general term of Anglicism. The analysis of their behaviour in the language of the *Capital* magazine has revealed both these underlying similarities, and the differences requiring their separate study. This situation confirms the idea put forth in the literature (Myers-Scotton 1993, 2002, Treffers-Daller 1994, Muysken 2000), that both from a theoretical and from a practical perspective, borrowing and code-switching should be seen along a continuum, with some elements being clear cases of borrowings, while others are clear instances of code-switches.

In the light of the results obtained from the quantitative and qualitative analysis of Anglicisms in *Capital* 1998-2005, we can conclude that the influence English is exerting over present-day Romanian is almost exclusively restricted to the lexical level, the morphological and syntactic levels remaining largely free of any interference. However, our conclusions are limited to lexical borrowing alone, and to the written register of journalistic prose. The investigation of loanshifts in contemporary Romanian would probably reveal other areas of interference, as it is well-known that semantic loans and calques are particularly likely to effect syntactic changes in the recipient language. Finally, the analysis of real speech data may show evidence of other types of transfers between the two

languages, transfers which can be more easily inhibited in a controlled environment like that of the written press.

APPENDIX 1

100 most frequent code-switches in *Capital* 2005

No.	Code-switch	Number of occurrences
1	art director	68
2	managing director	66
3	middle management	61
4	prime time	60
5	internet banking	59
6	media planner	54
7	general manager	48
8	managing partner	39
9	senior editor	39
10	DVD player	34
11	top management	33
12	product placement	27
13	marketing manager	24
14	private banking	24
15	cash carry	23
16	smart money	23
17	top managementul	23
18	call center	22
19	dumb money	22

20	city break	21
21	project manager	20
22	rate card	20
23	country manager	17
24	duty free	16
25	PR manager	14
26	stop loss	14
27	mobile banking	13
28	real estate	13
29	retail audit	13
30	accounting office manager	12
31	big mac	12
32	brand manager	12
33	investment grade	12
34	master of business administration	12
35	business intelligence	11
36	direct mail	11
37	retail banking	11
38	senior partner	11
39	business plan	10
40	car kit	10
41	CD player	10
42	chief executive officer	10
43	corporate affairs	10
44	MP player	10
45	top managementului	10
46	body piercing	9
47	hedge funds	9

48	high tech	9
49	made in Romania	9
50	senior tax manager	9
51	baby sitter	8
52	CD rom	8
53	client service director	8
54	hair styling	8
55	peer to peer	8
56	senior manager	8
57	web design	8
58	assistant manager	7
59	best of	7
60	client service	7
61	middle managementul	7
62	online banking	7
63	senior consultant	7
64	sex shop	7
65	branch manager	6
66	cash management	6
67	chart for	6
68	compact disc	6
69	consumer scan manager	6
70	entry level	6
71	executive manager	6
72	full service	6
73	gross rating point	6
74	intelligence competitive	6
75	investment banking	6

76	jack pot	6
77	marketing director	6
78	marketing research	6
79	product manager	6
80	project management	6
81	residential sales negotiator	6
82	triple play	6
83	buying director	5
84	cash collateral	5
85	chartered marketer	5
86	concept car	5
87	deputy general manager	5
88	direct mailing	5
89	do it yourself	5
90	DVD recorder	5
91	free float	5
92	internet broadband	5
93	new business	5
94	pen drive	5
95	pocket PC	5
96	public relations	5
97	reality show	5
98	senior accountant	5
99	senior broker	5
100	senior sales manager	5

APPENDIX 2a

Code-switches in Capital 1998-2005

	Number of occurrences							
	1998	**1999**	**2000**	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**
art director	3	1	9	30	77	64	65	68
managing director	4	9	12	14	33	24	28	66
middle management	2	3	7	0	0	1	1	61
prime time	9	13	24	20	77	54	48	60
internet banking	1	0	7	31	25	33	14	59
media planner	0	2	50	54	52	50	53	54
general manager	8	21	35	17	24	21	45	48
managing partner	0	2	0	3	6	4	13	39
senior editor	0	13	48	9	1	2	0	39
DVD player	0	1	0	7	25	5	35	34
top management	6	29	13	12	13	4	6	33
product placement	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	27

marketing manager	4	29	36	12	22	12	16	24
private banking	0	0	2	0	0	3	2	24
cash carry	0	10	29	30	21	12	22	23
smart money	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	23
top managementul	0	3	1	2	5	1	2	23
call center	0	0	2	1	1	2	18	22
dumb money	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22
city break	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	21
project manager	9	2	7	3	8	5	8	20
rate card	4	6	2	4	19	15	35	20
country manager	1	9	7	14	6	6	9	17
duty free	32	4	16	48	127	63	14	16
PR manager	0	1	5	7	11	16	35	14
stop loss	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	14
mobile banking	0	0	7	23	5	17	9	13
real estate	0	0	0	0	1	1	7	13
retail audit	0	2	2	11	13	6	5	13
accounting office manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	12
big mac	1	4	2	2	6	4	0	12
brand manager	0	3	7	10	4	6	10	12

investment grade	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	12
master of business administration	1	6	3	2	11	15	9	12
business intelligence	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
direct mail	0	0	8	0	1	1	0	11
retail banking	0	1	1	3	1	7	7	11
senior partner	0	0	5	14	15	5	4	11
business plan	0	2	1	1	6	4	5	10
car kit	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	10
CD player	0	6	1	6	1	0	6	10
chief executive officer	0	2	2	2	3	2	4	10
corporate affairs	0	3	2	3	4	4	8	10
MP player	0	0	0	1	13	7	16	10
top managementului	0	3	1	1	2	3	0	10
body piercing	0	0	0	6	1	0	0	9
hedge funds	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	9
high tech	8	7	8	8	10	11	5	9
made in Romania	1	1	2	14	6	2	3	9
senior tax manager	0	0	4	11	0	1	0	9
baby sitter	4	11	0	12	7	1	2	8
CD ROM	55	36	16	27	4	5	1	8

client service director	1	2	0	2	4	1	3	8
hair styling	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	8
peer to peer	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	8
senior manager	0	6	5	3	1	0	6	8
web design	0	0	5	18	8	28	14	8
asistent manager	9	14	8	8	6	8	4	7
best of	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	7
client service	2	4	6	19	4	9	9	7
middle managementul	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	7
online banking	0	0	0	11	1	3	2	7
senior consultant	6	1	0	5	20	10	5	7
sex shop	0	2	15	0	3	0	0	7
branch manager	1	0	0	1	1	0	4	6
cash management	0	3	1	3	0	1	0	6
chart for	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6
compact disc	4	5	2	1	6	0	5	6
consumer scan manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	6
entry level	0	1	3	0	0	2	2	6
executive manager	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	6
full service	1	26	9	5	7	3	2	6

gross rating point	0	1	2	1	2	6	4	6
intelligence competitive	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
investment banking	1	5	5	0	0	0	2	6
jack pot	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6
marketing director	6	2	17	24	10	3	3	6
marketing research	1	4	25	27	28	6	1	6
product manager	1	5	2	6	5	1	2	6
project management	0	2	0	2	1	6	0	6
residential sales negotiator	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
triple play	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	6
buying director	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
cash collateral	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	5
chartered marketer	0	0	0	0	4	0	3	5
concept car	0	0	0	0	1	2	5	5
deputy general manager	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	5
direct mailing	0	4	2	0	2	0	1	5
do it yourself	0	0	2	1	1	2	0	5
DVD recorder	0	0	0	1	2	4	1	5
free float	0	0	0	1	0	1	4	5
internet broadband	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5

new business	0	1	4	6	1	1	2	5
pen drive	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
pocket PC	0	0	0	3	6	0	1	5
public relations	15	27	5	6	16	1	2	5
reality show	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	5
senior accountant	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	5
senior broker	0	0	0	0	3	7	1	5
senior sales manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
senior vice president	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	5
soft skills	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
stock options plan	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	5
video streaming	0	0	0	0	8	0	1	5

APPENDIX 2b

Code-switches in Capital 1998-2005

	Frequency per 100,000 tokens							
	1998	**1999**	**2000**	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**
art director	0.15	0.04	0.38	1.26	2.9	2.43	2.25	2.35
managing director	0.2	0.37	0.51	0.59	1.24	0.91	0.97	2.28
middle management	0.1	0.12	0.3	0	0	0.04	0.03	2.11
prime time	0.44	0.53	1.02	0.84	2.9	2.05	1.66	2.07
internet banking	0.05	0	0.3	1.31	0.94	1.25	0.48	2.04
media planner	0	0.08	2.13	2.28	1.96	1.9	1.83	1.87
general manager	0.39	0.86	1.49	0.72	0.9	0.8	1.56	1.66
managing partner	0	0.08	0	0.13	0.23	0.15	0.45	1.35
senior editor	0	0.53	2.05	0.38	0.04	0.08	0	1.35
DVD player	0	0.04	0	0.3	0.94	0.19	1.21	1.18
top management	0.29	1.19	0.56	0.51	0.49	0.15	0.21	1.14
product placement	0	0	0	0	0	0.04	0.03	0.93
marketing manager	0.2	1.19	1.54	0.51	0.83	0.46	0.55	0.83

private banking	0	0	0.09	0	0	0.11	0.07	0.83
cash carry	0	0.41	1.24	1.26	0.79	0.46	0.76	0.8
smart money	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.8
top managementul	0	0.12	0.04	0.08	0.19	0.04	0.07	0.8
call center	0	0	0.09	0.04	0.04	0.08	0.62	0.76
dumb money	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.76
city break	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.31	0.73
project manager	0.44	0.08	0.3	0.13	0.3	0.19	0.28	0.69
rate card	0.2	0.25	0.09	0.17	0.72	0.57	1.21	0.69
country manager	0.05	0.37	0.3	0.59	0.23	0.23	0.31	0.59
duty free	1.57	0.16	0.68	2.02	4.79	2.39	0.48	0.55
PR manager	0	0.04	0.21	0.3	0.41	0.61	1.21	0.48
stop loss	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.31	0.48
mobile banking	0	0	0.3	0.97	0.19	0.64	0.31	0.45
real estate	0	0	0	0	0.04	0.04	0.24	0.45
retail audit	0	0.08	0.09	0.46	0.49	0.23	0.17	0.45
accounting office manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.17	0.41
big mac	0.05	0.16	0.09	0.08	0.23	0.15	0	0.41
brand manager	0	0.12	0.3	0.42	0.15	0.23	0.35	0.41
investment grade	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.07	0.41

master of business administration	0.05	0.25	0.13	0.08	0.41	0.57	0.31	0.41
business intelligence	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.38
direct mail	0	0	0.34	0	0.04	0.04	0	0.38
retail banking	0	0.04	0.04	0.13	0.04	0.27	0.24	0.38
senior partner	0	0	0.21	0.59	0.57	0.19	0.14	0.38
business plan	0	0.08	0.04	0.04	0.23	0.15	0.17	0.35
car kit	0	0	0	0	0	0.15	0	0.35
CD player	0	0.25	0.04	0.25	0.04	0	0.21	0.35
chief executive officer	0	0.08	0.09	0.08	0.11	0.08	0.14	0.35
corporate affairs	0	0.12	0.09	0.13	0.15	0.15	0.28	0.35
MP player	0	0	0	0.04	0.49	0.27	0.55	0.35
top managementului	0	0.12	0.04	0.04	0.08	0.11	0	0.35
body piercing	0	0	0	0.25	0.04	0	0	0.31
hedge funds	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.1	0.31
high tech	0.39	0.29	0.34	0.34	0.38	0.42	0.17	0.31
made in Romania	0.05	0.04	0.09	0.59	0.23	0.08	0.1	0.31
senior tax manager	0	0	0.17	0.46	0	0.04	0	0.31
baby sitter	0.2	0.45	0	0.51	0.26	0.04	0.07	0.28
CD rom	2.7	1.47	0.68	1.14	0.15	0.19	0.03	0.28
client service director	0.05	0.08	0	0.08	0.15	0.04	0.1	0.28

hair styling	0	0	0	0	0	0.04	0	0.28
peer to peer	0	0	0	0.04	0.04	0	0.03	0.28
senior manager	0	0.25	0.21	0.13	0.04	0	0.21	0.28
web design	0	0	0.21	0.76	0.3	1.06	0.48	0.28
asistent manager	0.44	0.57	0.34	0.34	0.23	0.3	0.14	0.24
best of	0	0.04	0	0	0	0.08	0	0.24
client service	0.1	0.16	0.26	0.8	0.15	0.34	0.31	0.24
middle managementul	0	0	0	0	0.04	0	0	0.24
online banking	0	0	0	0.46	0.04	0.11	0.07	0.24
senior consultant	0.29	0.04	0	0.21	0.75	0.38	0.17	0.24
sex shop	0	0.08	0.64	0	0.11	0	0	0.24
branch manager	0.05	0	0	0.04	0.04	0	0.14	0.21
cash management	0	0.12	0.04	0.13	0	0.04	0	0.21
chart for	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.03	0.21
compact disc	0.2	0.2	0.09	0.04	0.23	0	0.17	0.21
consumer scan manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.1	0.21
entry level	0	0.04	0.13	0	0	0.08	0.07	0.21
executive manager	0	0	0	0.04	0	0.04	0	0.21
full service	0.05	1.06	0.38	0.21	0.26	0.11	0.07	0.21
gross rating point	0	0.04	0.09	0.04	0.08	0.23	0.14	0.21

intelligence competitive	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.21
investment banking	0.05	0.2	0.21	0	0	0	0.07	0.21
jack pot	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.03	0.21
marketing director	0.29	0.08	0.73	1.01	0.38	0.11	0.1	0.21
marketing research	0.05	0.16	1.07	1.14	1.06	0.23	0.03	0.21
product manager	0.05	0.2	0.09	0.25	0.19	0.04	0.07	0.21
project management	0	0.08	0	0.08	0.04	0.23	0	0.21
residential sales negotiator	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.21
triple play	0	0	0.04	0	0.08	0.04	0	0.21
buying director	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.17
cash collateral	0	0	0	0.04	0.04	0.08	0.03	0.17
chartered marketer	0	0	0	0	0.15	0	0.1	0.17
concept car	0	0	0	0	0.04	0.08	0.17	0.17
deputy general manager	0	0	0.04	0	0	0	0.03	0.17
direct mailing	0	0.16	0.09	0	0.08	0	0.03	0.17
do it yourself	0	0	0.09	0.04	0.04	0.08	0	0.17
DVD recorder	0	0	0	0.04	0.08	0.15	0.03	0.17
free float	0	0	0	0.04	0	0.04	0.14	0.17
internet broadband	0	0	0	0	0	0.04	0	0.17
new business	0	0.04	0.17	0.25	0.04	0.04	0.07	0.17

pen drive	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.17
pocket PC	0	0	0	0.13	0.23	0	0.03	0.17
public relations	0.74	1.11	0.21	0.25	0.6	0.04	0.07	0.17
reality show	0	0	0	0.04	0	0.11	0.03	0.17
senior accountant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.14	0.17
senior broker	0	0	0	0	0.11	0.27	0.03	0.17
senior sales manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.17
senior vice president	0	0	0.13	0	0.04	0	0	0.17
soft skills	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.17
stock options plan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.14	0.17
video streaming	0	0	0	0	0.3	0	0.03	0.17

APPENDIX 3

100 most frequent borrowings in *Capital* 2005

No.	Lemma	Token	No.	Lemma	Token
1	marketing	858	51	fitness	71
2	USD	835	52	ipod	71
3	management	798	53	low cost	71
4	manager	729	54	sponsorizare	71
5	fax	702	55	Bluetooth	67
6	internet	694	56	lobby	67
7	card	648	57	IT&C	64
8	trend	589	58	subchart	62
9	e mail	572	59	computerizat	60
10	site	557	60	discount	59
11	leasing	522	61	factoring	59
12	brand	420	62	Forex	59
13	IT	397	63	charter	57
14	business	360	64	accesat	55
15	retail	350	65	fast food	55
16	online	315	66	premium	55

17	software	299	67	SMS	55
18	service	265	68	boom	54
19	spot	261	69	server	54
20	supermarket	221	70	wireless	54
21	dealer	214	71	leadership	53
22	training	208	72	multimedia	50
23	rating	206	73	rebranding	50
24	computer	200	74	subsidiara	49
25	design	184	75	outsourcing	48
26	broker	150	76	SUV	48
27	PC	134	77	chart	46
28	hypermarket	132	78	trader	46
29	managerial	124	79	GPRS	45
30	DVD	121	80	player	45
31	retailer	121	81	lista	44
32	job	119	82	wi fi	43
33	bonus	116	83	brokeraj	42
34	gadget	105	84	cash	42
35	ATM	97	85	GSM	42
36	accesa	95	86	hardware	42
37	mass media	94	87	living	42
38	notebook	86	88	bond	41
39	accesare	84	89	master	41
40	PR	84	90	senior	38

41	mall	83	91	showroom	38
42	soft	83	92	weekend	38
43	CD	81	93	GRP	36
44	futures	81	94	hobby	36
45	web	80	95	advertiser	34
46	CV	77	96	know how	34
47	laptop	76	97	coach	33
48	PDA	75	98	flash	33
49	second hand	75	99	masterat	33
50	PET	74	100	print	33

APPENDIX 4a

Borrowings in Capital 1998-2005 (lemmas)

	Number of occurrences							
	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
marketing	533	604	581	609	698	621	725	858
USD	1,218	2,485	3,305	3,631	4,886	2,364	1,354	835
management	501	768	598	520	766	715	666	798
manager	559	570	451	604	486	481	621	729
fax	1,188	1,004	801	815	717	721	835	702
Internet	725	1,167	1470	1390	936	808	793	694
card	142	209	443	412	703	704	603	648
trend	39	137	110	156	139	144	496	589
e mail	182	212	330	534	481	391	557	572
site	242	411	730	1415	703	917	667	557
leasing	353	571	275	364	403	291	627	522
brand	17	31	58	194	244	184	433	420
IT	67	152	228	350	542	355	403	397

business	28	37	98	90	208	180	329	360
retail	0	2	12	40	91	122	230	350
online	8	10	21	57	198	308	261	315
software	160	168	168	333	336	259	399	299
service	195	187	204	315	246	229	218	265
spot	129	169	168	300	376	416	240	261
supermaket	18	53	136	114	136	127	130	221
dealer	111	94	92	146	115	104	118	214
training	49	78	72	130	74	122	123	208
rating	62	55	119	165	218	129	228	206
computer	258	289	242	317	266	144	160	200
design	207	103	74	110	140	118	214	184
broker	286	425	205	245	257	255	257	150
PC	138	139	134	143	205	141	190	134
hipermarket	0	3	21	13	24	81	86	132
managerial	137	169	106	99	130	97	93	124
DVD	3	24	31	33	68	57	83	121
retailer	0	0	0	3	15	10	47	121
job	30	85	56	160	76	100	80	119
bonus	19	22	29	35	82	84	93	116

gadget	4	2	0	1	1	1	3	105
ATM	5	21	69	25	87	88	67	97
accesa	27	38	60	69	83	64	93	95
mass media	90	104	103	84	86	108	96	94
notebook	0	0	3	3	8	4	30	86
accesare	17	17	19	27	33	38	84	84
PR	35	54	88	101	157	28	37	84
mall	0	23	16	29	13	18	83	83
soft	91	244	117	127	358	160	155	83
CD	90	168	124	125	167	138	76	81
futures	211	725	114	327	268	140	125	81
web	192	223	208	232	151	143	81	80
CV	47	81	110	114	102	68	120	77
laptop	9	10	30	34	68	46	85	76
PDA	2	0	0	2	32	12	17	75
second hand	79	41	41	130	51	20	61	75
pet	10	2	11	5	17	40	25	74
fitness	9	22	24	36	35	22	43	71
Ipod	0	0	0	0	11	10	39	71
low cost	0	0	0	0	0	7	31	71

sponsorizare	169	49	73	121	88	62	121	71
Bluetooth	0	1	2	0	9	10	14	67
lobby	38	39	57	33	33	71	36	67
IT&C	0	2	1	30	54	37	47	64
subchart	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	62
computerizat	82	18	83	75	58	60	102	60
discount	8	9	16	21	34	7	6	59
factoring	15	14	32	5	26	11	9	59
Forex	0	0	0	19	0	13	84	59
charter	8	12	13	10	17	58	107	57
accesat	17	15	29	45	39	35	43	55
fast food	10	30	20	29	26	12	39	55
premium	23	21	16	38	39	36	60	55
SMS	0	1	23	24	21	53	24	55
boom	7	18	35	25	40	36	40	54
server	87	85	78	92	123	65	47	54
wireless	0	0	4	9	17	13	10	54
leadership	12	5	5	10	19	55	41	53
multimedia	91	34	52	49	81	64	53	50
rebranding	0	0	0	0	1	3	4	50

subsidiara	7	18	45	34	20	25	33	49
outsourcing	0	20	0	9	20	103	82	48
SUV	0	0	0	1	15	8	26	48
chart	0	0	0	0	1	1	6	46
trader	11	61	26	37	31	27	70	46
GPRS	0	0	6	11	51	24	29	45
player	1	10	9	8	19	10	34	45
lista	0	7	26	8	18	17	28	44
wi fi	0	0	0	1	2	6	4	43
brokeraj	47	90	147	68	88	69	96	42
cash	31	37	47	41	38	33	27	42
GSM	79	40	107	70	46	39	29	42
hardware	19	37	26	33	69	47	56	42
living	4	8	10	40	47	36	44	42
bond	3	2	7	10	7	29	7	41
master	7	13	26	21	27	71	47	41
senior	5	45	5	47	55	58	61	38
showroom	0	7	4	7	4	7	17	38
weekend	4	2	6	6	18	21	16	38
GRP	0	7	2	13	39	73	34	36

hobby	85	43	35	27	45	51	40	36
advertiser	1	2	6	3	8	13	10	34
know how	72	32	30	35	40	16	47	34
coach	0	1	0	1	11	0	3	33
flash	5	3	0	1	3	3	9	33
masterat	16	25	35	16	39	44	39	33
print	4	1	6	19	33	43	45	33
talk show	47	13	30	17	24	35	31	33
designer	45	38	23	33	28	36	73	32
MP	0	80	13	31	36	16	16	31
roaming	10	2	1	3	16	6	4	31
sponsor	126	87	72	57	52	42	50	31
target	2	8	7	20	33	16	21	31
trainer	3	16	11	52	39	38	17	31
IFRS	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	30
all inclusive	0	0	0	0	3	7	13	29
blog	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	29
feedback	3	12	7	7	4	15	12	29
team building	1	0	0	1	6	4	16	28
teambuiding	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	28

mail	5	20	35	43	84	31	86	27
POS	1	9	21	9	53	29	8	27
week end	37	37	39	69	75	74	73	27
mouse	14	20	22	42	25	7	36	26
advertising	1	4	2	7	9	2	7	25
coaching	1	3	0	0	49	7	20	25
developer	0	0	7	2	1	5	16	25
GPS	1	1	1	8	6	2	2	25
mix	0	3	6	4	16	15	11	25
videoclip	7	16	9	54	13	14	19	25
city manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	24
corporate	1	0	0	2	4	16	23	24
grant	5	2	80	30	62	77	32	24
inch	7	6	3	2	3	1	2	24
open source	0	1	0	1	7	11	8	24
show	19	26	18	19	23	22	29	24
derby	3	1	2	1	0	2	4	23
download	0	6	4	6	20	11	15	23
HD DVD	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	23
browser	26	63	8	20	28	7	24	22

email	8	25	31	42	18	37	38	22
outdoor	12	8	26	17	40	33	57	22
teleshopping	0	4	4	5	2	13	11	22
workshop	1	1	4	5	10	7	13	22
hedging	3	15	6	49	14	4	14	21
spam	0	1	0	1	11	14	59	21
summit	8	9	11	4	24	29	11	21
cobranded	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
dumping	17	20	8	20	22	9	6	20
ERP	1	0	0	2	16	30	14	20
click	8	28	22	22	19	9	11	19
shopping	1	3	0	15	21	22	22	19
offshore	22	6	8	14	15	27	9	18
outplacement	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	18
quilt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18
branding	0	0	0	1	4	2	20	17
catering	27	1	14	12	31	20	15	17
hypermarket	0	4	12	36	32	26	9	17
start up	1	1	2	6	8	8	36	17
blogger	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16

board	3	8	7	10	11	7	18	16
copywriter	27	4	30	24	33	26	8	16
deal	0	2	15	34	13	11	22	16
desktop	1	9	9	16	29	28	16	16
panel	4	9	10	12	10	15	7	16
research	0	0	0	7	4	0	1	16
tour operator	4	1	7	1	7	14	23	16
banner	34	90	37	20	8	26	41	15
clip	96	56	86	54	27	38	31	15
junior	1	0	0	1	3	3	2	15
off shore	5	4	80	44	24	19	9	15
RSI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
bearish	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	14
bullish	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	14
business man	2	3	0	1	2	5	4	14
exit	1	0	1	6	3	7	8	14
folk	2	1	1	2	2	15	7	14
hard disk	21	4	9	2	33	16	16	14
joint venture	16	7	19	29	14	8	11	14
show room	2	28	11	13	13	21	43	14

stand by	6	78	46	52	61	20	22	14
check in	0	0	0	1	3	4	4	13
EPS	2	0	10	13	8	0	16	13
freelancer	1	0	0	2	2	4	4	13
sponsorizat	31	19	19	22	15	19	16	13
link	3	23	20	87	26	48	19	12
spa	0	0	0	1	1	6	1	12
trading	0	0	0	0	0	1	15	12
VHS	2	4	0	6	4	10	3	12
brandy	1	2	1	5	2	2	0	11
brief	0	1	6	6	53	9	10	11
broadband	0	0	0	3	4	5	5	11
BTL	5	66	146	183	203	20	24	11
campus	12	15	11	22	26	11	17	11
display	5	6	6	14	17	12	14	11
e commerce	0	9	16	20	15	12	11	11
green field	0	1	1	2	0	1	8	11
greenfield	0	0	4	9	3	8	14	11
hard	7	27	21	8	26	16	15	11
hit	6	13	10	1	7	20	13	11

hotspot	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	11
intranet	29	2	8	5	14	2	5	11
low	0	1	0	0	0	0	15	11
matchmaking	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
pitch	0	1	6	6	7	25	24	11
pre pay	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
provider	11	32	58	58	14	2	8	11
smartphone	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	11
staff	19	14	18	14	6	5	16	11
bancassurance	0	0	0	8	3	2	8	10
barter	14	21	18	20	17	9	15	10
bestseller	2	3	0	1	0	1	8	10
camping	13	14	15	6	22	16	5	10
CATV	7	0	0	1	25	32	18	10
options	10	4	8	50	37	2	7	10
part time	4	16	1	20	9	13	4	10
ram	35	33	28	35	22	18	10	10
trendy	0	0	0	0	2	2	5	10
voucher	1	2	2	7	16	1	6	10
zoom	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10

DVD RW	0	2	0	0	1	3	2	9
e facturi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
eurobond	3	3	4	10	11	4	23	9
Hub	1	0	11	2	1	1	0	9
Live	14	12	17	12	15	22	19	9
Long	0	5	0	5	1	6	37	9
lowcost	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	9
massmedia	7	10	11	15	8	12	6	9
matchmaker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9
OK	9	12	17	11	26	17	15	9
performer	11	10	4	4	4	8	4	9
rebrandare	0	0	0	0	3	7	45	9
senior analist	1	0	0	0	0	0	7	9
sexy	14	4	10	4	4	10	8	9
smart	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	9
supervisor	1	6	1	4	4	0	8	9
ABS	6	20	14	10	14	4	5	8
controller	0	7	0	2	0	1	0	8
copyright	6	2	3	2	6	2	7	8
CRM	0	0	0	1	10	5	6	8

dressing	0	0	0	2	3	2	4	8
e learning	0	0	0	5	14	7	12	8
e tax	0	0	0	0	8	3	1	8
e training	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
flat	0	1	2	0	0	5	9	8
hacker	54	84	58	69	16	22	9	8
head hunting	13	3	6	3	19	0	2	8
jacuzzi	1	9	4	7	19	13	6	8
knowhow	9	12	7	1	2	1	5	8
non stop	6	6	1	6	3	3	4	8
on line	66	152	173	280	52	22	10	8
palm	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	8
parking	5	0	0	0	0	0	1	8
scanare	7	2	5	20	6	7	3	8
short	1	4	2	8	2	4	76	8
sponsoriza	4	17	2	13	6	13	7	8
bowling	1	6	0	3	6	1	5	7
cip	0	7	1	15	67	20	40	7
co branded	0	0	0	0	1	5	10	7
DVD ROM	1	7	1	6	2	1	0	7

Euroland	0	0	0	0	0	7	11	7
FIFO	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	7
input	6	3	3	0	0	1	3	7
jeans	3	2	6	0	12	2	1	7
ketchup	19	7	1	4	2	39	4	7
kit	2	0	1	3	3	1	3	7
look	7	6	7	10	2	4	2	7
office	0	0	1	0	1	0	7	7
risk reward	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	7
scoring	0	0	0	0	1	6	11	7
secondhand	6	7	4	10	9	0	6	7
tuner	2	4	1	13	1	1	6	7
tuning	0	0	0	8	7	4	3	7
walkman	0	2	0	6	1	1	4	7
Wi Fi	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	7
all day	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	6
blockbuster	0	1	1	0	0	5	6	6
cash flow	8	7	7	8	12	11	8	6
chat	3	9	13	34	14	27	13	6
clamshell	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	6

dial up	6	28	8	26	29	23	32	6
DJ	7	2	0	3	3	42	20	6
gap	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	6
hamburger	8	24	5	6	6	4	12	6
handsfree	0	0	1	0	1	3	1	6
high	0	1	0	0	0	0	5	6
horror	1	1	1	2	2	1	13	6
masterand	0	0	0	0	3	23	7	6
patchwork	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
performa	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	6
performat	0	0	0	0	0	2	4	6
quilting	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
single	6	7	9	7	14	13	19	6
subwoofer	0	0	0	9	3	1	1	6
thriller	2	0	0	0	0	4	11	6
ticketing	0	1	0	6	7	0	8	6
update	0	1	1	1	4	3	2	6
vip	10	10	13	7	13	10	13	6
badminton	1	3	0	2	0	2	1	5
boss	4	8	2	5	7	7	10	5

broadsheet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
bungalow	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	5
e business	1	0	12	2	17	12	0	5
epayment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
firewall	0	2	1	1	20	6	4	5
html	24	36	13	20	8	1	1	5
intra day	0	6	3	7	0	0	1	5
mailing	1	2	2	2	1	0	1	5
marketer	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	5
merchandising	0	1	3	6	3	0	0	5
newsletter	0	5	1	19	0	12	10	5
partner	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
piercing	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	5
pin	1	3	8	6	19	3	6	5
pips	0	2	0	2	0	1	7	5
printa	1	2	0	4	2	0	0	5
registrar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
reset	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	5
schi pass	0	0	0	2	1	4	4	5
shipping	1	0	0	0	0	6	1	5

snack	0	1	0	3	3	0	2	5
status	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	5
storyboard	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
talkshow	7	3	2	4	1	4	3	5
targetare	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
touroperator	8	20	2	4	3	9	12	5
upgrade	6	11	6	6	10	17	13	5
videoplayer	0	1	2	0	2	3	4	5
web site	9	3	7	9	8	8	8	5
website	4	5	42	15	3	6	6	5
WLAN	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5

APPENDIX 4b

Borrowings in Capital 1998-2005 (lemmas)

	Frequency per 100,000 tokens							
	1998	**1999**	**2000**	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**
marketing	26.19	24.73	24.81	25.68	26.31	23.56	25.09	29.67
USD	59.85	101.74	141.1	153.1	184.14	89.69	46.86	28.87
management	24.62	31.44	25.53	21.93	28.87	27.13	23.05	27.59
manager	27.47	23.34	19.25	25.47	18.32	18.25	21.49	25.21
fax	58.37	41.1	34.2	34.36	27.02	27.35	28.9	24.27
internet	35.62	47.78	62.76	58.61	35.28	30.66	27.45	24
card	6.98	8.56	18.91	17.37	26.49	26.71	20.87	22.41
trend	1.92	5.61	4.7	6.58	5.24	5.46	17.17	20.37
e-mail	8.94	8.68	14.09	22.52	18.13	14.83	19.28	19.78
site	11.89	16.83	31.17	59.66	26.49	34.79	23.08	19.26
leasing	17.34	23.38	11.74	15.35	15.19	11.04	21.7	18.05
brand	0.84	1.27	2.48	8.18	9.2	6.98	14.99	14.52
IT	3.29	6.22	9.73	14.76	20.43	13.47	13.95	13.73

business	1.38	1.51	4.18	3.79	7.84	6.83	11.39	12.45
retail	0	0.08	0.51	1.69	3.43	4.63	7.96	12.1
online	0.39	0.41	0.9	2.4	7.46	11.69	9.03	10.89
software	7.86	6.88	7.17	14.04	12.66	9.83	13.81	10.34
service	9.58	7.66	8.71	13.28	9.27	8.69	7.54	9.16
spot	6.34	6.92	7.17	12.65	14.17	15.78	8.31	9.03
supermaket	0.88	2.17	5.81	4.81	5.13	4.82	4.5	7.64
dealer	5.45	3.85	3.93	6.16	4.33	3.95	4.08	7.4
training	2.41	3.19	3.07	5.48	2.79	4.63	4.26	7.19
rating	3.05	2.25	5.08	6.96	8.22	4.89	7.89	7.12
computer	12.68	11.83	10.33	13.37	10.03	5.46	5.54	6.92
design	10.17	4.22	3.16	4.64	5.28	4.48	7.41	6.36
broker	14.05	17.4	8.75	10.33	9.69	9.67	8.89	5.19
PC	6.78	5.69	5.72	6.03	7.73	5.35	6.58	4.63
hipermarket	0	0.12	0.9	0.55	0.9	3.07	2.98	4.56
managerial	6.73	6.92	4.53	4.17	4.9	3.68	3.22	4.29
DVD	0.15	0.98	1.32	1.39	2.56	2.16	2.87	4.18
retailer	0	0	0	0.13	0.57	0.38	1.63	4.18
job	1.47	3.48	2.39	6.75	2.86	3.79	2.77	4.11
bonus	0.93	0.9	1.24	1.48	3.09	3.19	3.22	4.01

gadget	0.2	0.08	0	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.1	3.63
ATM	0.25	0.86	2.95	1.05	3.28	3.34	2.32	3.35
accesa	1.33	1.56	2.56	2.91	3.13	2.43	3.22	3.29
mass media	4.42	4.26	4.4	3.54	3.24	4.1	3.32	3.25
notebook	0	0	0.13	0.13	0.3	0.15	1.04	2.97
accesare	0.84	0.7	0.81	1.14	1.24	1.44	2.91	2.9
PR	1.72	2.21	3.76	4.26	5.92	1.06	1.28	2.9
mall	0	0.94	0.68	1.22	0.49	0.68	2.87	2.87
soft	4.47	9.99	5	5.36	13.49	6.07	5.36	2.87
CD	4.42	6.88	5.29	5.27	6.29	5.24	2.63	2.8
futures	10.37	29.68	4.87	13.79	10.1	5.31	4.33	2.8
web	9.43	9.13	8.88	9.78	5.69	5.43	2.8	2.77
CV	2.31	3.32	4.7	4.81	3.84	2.58	4.15	2.66
laptop	0.44	0.41	1.28	1.43	2.56	1.75	2.94	2.63
PDA	0.1	0	0	0.08	1.21	0.46	0.59	2.59
second hand	3.88	1.68	1.75	5.48	1.92	0.76	2.11	2.59
pet	0.49	0.08	0.47	0.21	0.64	1.52	0.87	2.56
fitness	0.44	0.9	1.02	1.52	1.32	0.83	1.49	2.46
Ipod	0	0	0	0	0.41	0.38	1.35	2.46
low cost	0	0	0	0	0	0.27	1.07	2.46

sponsorizare	8.3	2.01	3.12	5.1	3.32	2.35	4.19	2.46
Bluetooth	0	0.04	0.09	0	0.34	0.38	0.48	2.32
lobby	1.87	1.6	2.43	1.39	1.24	2.69	1.25	2.32
IT&C	0	0.08	0.04	1.26	2.04	1.4	1.63	2.21
subchart	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.1	2.14
computerizat	4.03	0.74	3.54	3.16	2.19	2.28	3.53	2.07
discount	0.39	0.37	0.68	0.89	1.28	0.27	0.21	2.04
factoring	0.74	0.57	1.37	0.21	0.98	0.42	0.31	2.04
Forex	0	0	0	0.8	0	0.49	2.91	2.04
charter	0.39	0.49	0.56	0.42	0.64	2.2	3.7	1.97
accesat	0.84	0.61	1.24	1.9	1.47	1.33	1.49	1.9
fast food	0.49	1.23	0.85	1.22	0.98	0.46	1.35	1.9
premium	1.13	0.86	0.68	1.6	1.47	1.37	2.08	1.9
SMS	0	0.04	0.98	1.01	0.79	2.01	0.83	1.9
boom	0.34	0.74	1.49	1.05	1.51	1.37	1.38	1.87
server	4.27	3.48	3.33	3.88	4.64	2.47	1.63	1.87
wireless	0	0	0.17	0.38	0.64	0.49	0.35	1.87
leadership	0.59	0.2	0.21	0.42	0.72	2.09	1.42	1.83
multimedia	4.47	1.39	2.22	2.07	3.05	2.43	1.83	1.73
rebranding	0	0	0	0	0.04	0.11	0.14	1.73

subsidiara	0.34	0.74	1.92	1.43	0.75	0.95	1.14	1.69
outsourcing	0	0.82	0	0.38	0.75	3.91	2.84	1.66
SUV	0	0	0	0.04	0.57	0.3	0.9	1.66
chart	0	0	0	0	0.04	0.04	0.21	1.59
trader	0.54	2.5	1.11	1.56	1.17	1.02	2.42	1.59
gprs	0	0	0.26	0.46	1.92	0.91	1	1.56
player	0.05	0.41	0.38	0.34	0.72	0.38	1.18	1.56
lista	0	0.29	1.11	0.34	0.68	0.64	0.97	1.52
Wi Fi	0	0	0	0.04	0.08	0.23	0.14	1.49
brokeraj	2.31	3.68	6.28	2.87	3.32	2.62	3.32	1.45
cash	1.52	1.51	2.01	1.73	1.43	1.25	0.93	1.45
GSM	3.88	1.64	4.57	2.95	1.73	1.48	1	1.45
hardware	0.93	1.51	1.11	1.39	2.6	1.78	1.94	1.45
living	0.2	0.33	0.43	1.69	1.77	1.37	1.52	1.45
bond	0.15	0.08	0.3	0.42	0.26	1.1	0.24	1.42
master	0.34	0.53	1.11	0.89	1.02	2.69	1.63	1.42
senior	0.25	1.84	0.21	1.98	2.07	2.2	2.11	1.31
showroom	0	0.29	0.17	0.3	0.15	0.27	0.59	1.31
weekend	0.2	0.08	0.26	0.25	0.68	0.8	0.55	1.31
GRP	0	0.29	0.09	0.55	1.47	2.77	1.18	1.24

hobby	4.18	1.76	1.49	1.14	1.7	1.93	1.38	1.24
advertiser	0.05	0.08	0.26	0.13	0.3	0.49	0.35	1.18
know how	3.54	1.31	1.28	1.48	1.51	0.61	1.63	1.18
coach	0	0.04	0	0.04	0.41	0	0.1	1.14
flash	0.25	0.12	0	0.04	0.11	0.11	0.31	1.14
masterat	0.79	1.02	1.49	0.67	1.47	1.67	1.35	1.14
print	0.2	0.04	0.26	0.8	1.24	1.63	1.56	1.14
talk show	2.31	0.53	1.28	0.72	0.9	1.33	1.07	1.14
designer	2.21	1.56	0.98	1.39	1.06	1.37	2.53	1.11
MP	0	3.28	0.56	1.31	1.36	0.61	0.55	1.07
roaming	0.49	0.08	0.04	0.13	0.6	0.23	0.14	1.07
sponsor	6.19	3.56	3.07	2.4	1.96	1.59	1.73	1.07
target	0.1	0.33	0.3	0.84	1.24	0.61	0.73	1.07
trainer	0.15	0.66	0.47	2.19	1.47	1.44	0.59	1.07
IFRS	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.1	1.04
all inclusive	0	0	0	0	0.11	0.27	0.45	1
blog	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
feedback	0.15	0.49	0.3	0.3	0.15	0.57	0.42	1
team building	0.05	0	0	0.04	0.23	0.15	0.55	0.97
teambuiding	0	0	0	0	0	0.08	0.07	0.97

mail	0.25	0.82	1.49	1.81	3.17	1.18	2.98	0.93
POS	0.05	0.37	0.9	0.38	2	1.1	0.28	0.93
week end	1.82	1.51	1.67	2.91	2.83	2.81	2.53	0.93
mouse	0.69	0.82	0.94	1.77	0.94	0.27	1.25	0.9
advertising	0.05	0.16	0.09	0.3	0.34	0.08	0.24	0.86
coaching	0.05	0.12	0	0	1.85	0.27	0.69	0.86
developer	0	0	0.3	0.08	0.04	0.19	0.55	0.86
GPS	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.34	0.23	0.08	0.07	0.86
mix	0	0.12	0.26	0.17	0.6	0.57	0.38	0.86
videoclip	0.34	0.66	0.38	2.28	0.49	0.53	0.66	0.86
city manager	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.83
corporate	0.05	0	0	0.08	0.15	0.61	0.8	0.83
grant	0.25	0.08	3.42	1.26	2.34	2.92	1.11	0.83
inch	0.34	0.25	0.13	0.08	0.11	0.04	0.07	0.83
open source	0	0.04	0	0.04	0.26	0.42	0.28	0.83
show	0.93	1.06	0.77	0.8	0.87	0.83	1	0.83
derby	0.15	0.04	0.09	0.04	0	0.08	0.14	0.8
download	0	0.25	0.17	0.25	0.75	0.42	0.52	0.8
HD DVD	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.07	0.8
browser	1.28	2.58	0.34	0.84	1.06	0.27	0.83	0.76

email	0.39	1.02	1.32	1.77	0.68	1.4	1.32	0.76
outdoor	0.59	0.33	1.11	0.72	1.51	1.25	1.97	0.76
teleshopping	0	0.16	0.17	0.21	0.08	0.49	0.38	0.76
workshop	0.05	0.04	0.17	0.21	0.38	0.27	0.45	0.76
hedging	0.15	0.61	0.26	2.07	0.53	0.15	0.48	0.73
spam	0	0.04	0	0.04	0.41	0.53	2.04	0.73
summit	0.39	0.37	0.47	0.17	0.9	1.1	0.38	0.73
cobranded	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.69
dumping	0.84	0.82	0.34	0.84	0.83	0.34	0.21	0.69
ERP	0.05	0	0	0.08	0.6	1.14	0.48	0.69
click	0.39	1.15	0.94	0.93	0.72	0.34	0.38	0.66
shopping	0.05	0.12	0	0.63	0.79	0.83	0.76	0.66
offshore	1.08	0.25	0.34	0.59	0.57	1.02	0.31	0.62
outplacement	0.05	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.62
quilt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.62
branding	0	0	0	0.04	0.15	0.08	0.69	0.59
catering	1.33	0.04	0.6	0.51	1.17	0.76	0.52	0.59
hypermarket	0	0.16	0.51	1.52	1.21	0.99	0.31	0.59
start up	0.05	0.04	0.09	0.25	0.3	0.3	1.25	0.59
blogger	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.55

board	0.15	0.33	0.3	0.42	0.41	0.27	0.62	0.55
copywriter	1.33	0.16	1.28	1.01	1.24	0.99	0.28	0.55
deal	0	0.08	0.64	1.43	0.49	0.42	0.76	0.55
desktop	0.05	0.37	0.38	0.67	1.09	1.06	0.55	0.55
panel	0.2	0.37	0.43	0.51	0.38	0.57	0.24	0.55
research	0	0	0	0.3	0.15	0	0.03	0.55
tour operator	0.2	0.04	0.3	0.04	0.26	0.53	0.8	0.55
banner	1.67	3.68	1.58	0.84	0.3	0.99	1.42	0.52
clip	4.72	2.29	3.67	2.28	1.02	1.44	1.07	0.52
junior	0.05	0	0	0.04	0.11	0.11	0.07	0.52
off shore	0.25	0.16	3.42	1.86	0.9	0.72	0.31	0.52
RSI	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.52
bearish	0	0	0	0.04	0	0	0	0.48
bullish	0	0	0	0.04	0	0	0.17	0.48
business man	0.1	0.12	0	0.04	0.08	0.19	0.14	0.48
exit	0.05	0	0.04	0.25	0.11	0.27	0.28	0.48
folk	0.1	0.04	0.04	0.08	0.08	0.57	0.24	0.48
hard disk	1.03	0.16	0.38	0.08	1.24	0.61	0.55	0.48
joint venture	0.79	0.29	0.81	1.22	0.53	0.3	0.38	0.48
show room	0.1	1.15	0.47	0.55	0.49	0.8	1.49	0.48

stand by	0.29	3.19	1.96	2.19	2.3	0.76	0.76	0.48
check in	0	0	0	0.04	0.11	0.15	0.14	0.45
EPS	0.1	0	0.43	0.55	0.3	0	0.55	0.45
freelancer	0.05	0	0	0.08	0.08	0.15	0.14	0.45
sponsorizat	1.52	0.78	0.81	0.93	0.57	0.72	0.55	0.45
link	0.15	0.94	0.85	3.67	0.98	1.82	0.66	0.41
spa	0	0	0	0.04	0.04	0.23	0.03	0.41
trading	0	0	0	0	0	0.04	0.52	0.41
VHS	0.1	0.16	0	0.25	0.15	0.38	0.1	0.41
brandy	0.05	0.08	0.04	0.21	0.08	0.08	0	0.38
brief	0	0.04	0.26	0.25	2	0.34	0.35	0.38
broadband	0	0	0	0.13	0.15	0.19	0.17	0.38
BTL	0.25	2.7	6.23	7.72	7.65	0.76	0.83	0.38
campus	0.59	0.61	0.47	0.93	0.98	0.42	0.59	0.38
display	0.25	0.25	0.26	0.59	0.64	0.46	0.48	0.38
e commerce	0	0.37	0.68	0.84	0.57	0.46	0.38	0.38
green field	0	0.04	0.04	0.08	0	0.04	0.28	0.38
greenfield	0	0	0.17	0.38	0.11	0.3	0.48	0.38
hard	0.34	1.11	0.9	0.34	0.98	0.61	0.52	0.38
hit	0.29	0.53	0.43	0.04	0.26	0.76	0.45	0.38

hotspot	0	0	0	0	0	0.04	0.07	0.38
intranet	1.42	0.08	0.34	0.21	0.53	0.08	0.17	0.38
low	0	0.04	0	0	0	0	0.52	0.38
matchmaking	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.38
pitch	0	0.04	0.26	0.25	0.26	0.95	0.83	0.38
pre pay	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.38
provider	0.54	1.31	2.48	2.45	0.53	0.08	0.28	0.38
smartphone	0	0	0	0	0.04	0	0.1	0.38
staff	0.93	0.57	0.77	0.59	0.23	0.19	0.55	0.38
bancassurance	0	0	0	0.34	0.11	0.08	0.28	0.35
barter	0.69	0.86	0.77	0.84	0.64	0.34	0.52	0.35
bestseller	0.1	0.12	0	0.04	0	0.04	0.28	0.35
camping	0.64	0.57	0.64	0.25	0.83	0.61	0.17	0.35
CATV	0.34	0	0	0.04	0.94	1.21	0.62	0.35
options	0.49	0.16	0.34	2.11	1.39	0.08	0.24	0.35
part time	0.2	0.66	0.04	0.84	0.34	0.49	0.14	0.35
RAM	1.72	1.35	1.2	1.48	0.83	0.68	0.35	0.35
trendy	0	0	0	0	0.08	0.08	0.17	0.35
voucher	0.05	0.08	0.09	0.3	0.6	0.04	0.21	0.35
zoom	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.35

DVD RW	0	0.08	0	0	0.04	0.11	0.07	0.31
e facturi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.31
Eurobond	0.15	0.12	0.17	0.42	0.41	0.15	0.8	0.31
hub	0.05	0	0.47	0.08	0.04	0.04	0	0.31
live	0.69	0.49	0.73	0.51	0.57	0.83	0.66	0.31
long	0	0.2	0	0.21	0.04	0.23	1.28	0.31
lowcost	0	0	0	0	0	0.11	0.1	0.31
massmedia	0.34	0.41	0.47	0.63	0.3	0.46	0.21	0.31
matchmaker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.31
OK	0.44	0.49	0.73	0.46	0.98	0.64	0.52	0.31
performer	0.54	0.41	0.17	0.17	0.15	0.3	0.14	0.31
rebrandare	0	0	0	0	0.11	0.27	1.56	0.31
senior analist	0.05	0	0	0	0	0	0.24	0.31
sexy	0.69	0.16	0.43	0.17	0.15	0.38	0.28	0.31
smart	0	0	0	0	0.04	0	0	0.31
supervisor	0.05	0.25	0.04	0.17	0.15	0	0.28	0.31
ABS	0.29	0.82	0.6	0.42	0.53	0.15	0.17	0.28
controller	0	0.29	0	0.08	0	0.04	0	0.28
copyright	0.29	0.08	0.13	0.08	0.23	0.08	0.24	0.28
CRM	0	0	0	0.04	0.38	0.19	0.21	0.28

dressing	0	0	0	0.08	0.11	0.08	0.14	0.28
e learning	0	0	0	0.21	0.53	0.27	0.42	0.28
e tax	0	0	0	0	0.3	0.11	0.03	0.28
e training	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.28
flat	0	0.04	0.09	0	0	0.19	0.31	0.28
hacker	2.65	3.44	2.48	2.91	0.6	0.83	0.31	0.28
head hunting	0.64	0.12	0.26	0.13	0.72	0	0.07	0.28
jacuzzi	0.05	0.37	0.17	0.3	0.72	0.49	0.21	0.28
knowhow	0.44	0.49	0.3	0.04	0.08	0.04	0.17	0.28
non stop	0.29	0.25	0.04	0.25	0.11	0.11	0.14	0.28
on line	3.24	6.22	7.39	11.81	1.96	0.83	0.35	0.28
palm	0	0	0	0	0	0.08	0.07	0.28
parking	0.25	0	0	0	0	0	0.03	0.28
scanare	0.34	0.08	0.21	0.84	0.23	0.27	0.1	0.28
short	0.05	0.16	0.09	0.34	0.08	0.15	2.63	0.28
sponsoriza	0.2	0.7	0.09	0.55	0.23	0.49	0.24	0.28
bowling	0.05	0.25	0	0.13	0.23	0.04	0.17	0.24
cip	0	0.29	0.04	0.63	2.53	0.76	1.38	0.24
co branded	0	0	0	0	0.04	0.19	0.35	0.24
DVD ROM	0.05	0.29	0.04	0.25	0.08	0.04	0	0.24

Euroland	0	0	0	0	0	0.27	0.38	0.24
FIFO	0	0.12	0	0	0	0	0	0.24
input	0.29	0.12	0.13	0	0	0.04	0.1	0.24
jeans	0.15	0.08	0.26	0	0.45	0.08	0.03	0.24
ketchup	0.93	0.29	0.04	0.17	0.08	1.48	0.14	0.24
kit	0.1	0	0.04	0.13	0.11	0.04	0.1	0.24
look	0.34	0.25	0.3	0.42	0.08	0.15	0.07	0.24
office	0	0	0.04	0	0.04	0	0.24	0.24
risk reward	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.14	0.24
scoring	0	0	0	0	0.04	0.23	0.38	0.24
secondhand	0.29	0.29	0.17	0.42	0.34	0	0.21	0.24
tuner	0.1	0.16	0.04	0.55	0.04	0.04	0.21	0.24
tuning	0	0	0	0.34	0.26	0.15	0.1	0.24
walkman	0	0.08	0	0.25	0.04	0.04	0.14	0.24
Wi Fi	0	0	0	0	0	0.23	0	0.24
all day	0	0	0	0	0.08	0	0.03	0.21
blockbuster	0	0.04	0.04	0	0	0.19	0.21	0.21
cash flow	0.39	0.29	0.3	0.34	0.45	0.42	0.28	0.21
chat	0.15	0.37	0.56	1.43	0.53	1.02	0.45	0.21
clamshell	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.07	0.21

dial up	0.29	1.15	0.34	1.1	1.09	0.87	1.11	0.21
DJ	0.34	0.08	0	0.13	0.11	1.59	0.69	0.21
gap	0	0.04	0	0	0.11	0	0	0.21
hamburger	0.39	0.98	0.21	0.25	0.23	0.15	0.42	0.21
handsfree	0	0	0.04	0	0.04	0.11	0.03	0.21
high	0	0.04	0	0	0	0	0.17	0.21
horror	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.08	0.08	0.04	0.45	0.21
masterand	0	0	0	0	0.11	0.87	0.24	0.21
patchwork	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.21
performa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.07	0.21
performat	0	0	0	0	0	0.08	0.14	0.21
quilting	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.21
single	0.29	0.29	0.38	0.3	0.53	0.49	0.66	0.21
subwoofer	0	0	0	0.38	0.11	0.04	0.03	0.21
thriller	0.1	0	0	0	0	0.15	0.38	0.21
ticketing	0	0.04	0	0.25	0.26	0	0.28	0.21
update	0	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.15	0.11	0.07	0.21
VIP	0.49	0.41	0.56	0.3	0.49	0.38	0.45	0.21
badminton	0.05	0.12	0	0.08	0	0.08	0.03	0.17
boss	0.2	0.33	0.09	0.21	0.26	0.27	0.35	0.17

broadsheet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.17
bungalow	0	0	0.04	0	0.08	0	0.03	0.17
e business	0.05	0	0.51	0.08	0.64	0.46	0	0.17
epayment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.17
firewall	0	0.08	0.04	0.04	0.75	0.23	0.14	0.17
HTML	1.18	1.47	0.56	0.84	0.3	0.04	0.03	0.17
intra day	0	0.25	0.13	0.3	0	0	0.03	0.17
mailing	0.05	0.08	0.09	0.08	0.04	0	0.03	0.17
marketer	0	0	0	0	0.08	0.11	0	0.17
merchandising	0	0.04	0.13	0.25	0.11	0	0	0.17
newsletter	0	0.2	0.04	0.8	0	0.46	0.35	0.17
partner	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.17
piercing	0	0	0	0.25	0	0	0	0.17
PIN	0.05	0.12	0.34	0.25	0.72	0.11	0.21	0.17
pips	0	0.08	0	0.08	0	0.04	0.24	0.17
printa	0.05	0.08	0	0.17	0.08	0	0	0.17
registrar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.17
reset	0	0	0.04	0.04	0	0	0	0.17
schi pass	0	0	0	0.08	0.04	0.15	0.14	0.17
shipping	0.05	0	0	0	0	0.23	0.03	0.17

snack	0	0.04	0	0.13	0.11	0	0.07	0.17
status	0	0	0	0	0.08	0.08	0	0.17
storyboard	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.17
talkshow	0.34	0.12	0.09	0.17	0.04	0.15	0.1	0.17
targetare	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.17
touroperator	0.39	0.82	0.09	0.17	0.11	0.34	0.42	0.17
upgrade	0.29	0.45	0.26	0.25	0.38	0.64	0.45	0.17
videoplayer	0	0.04	0.09	0	0.08	0.11	0.14	0.17
web site	0.44	0.12	0.3	0.38	0.3	0.3	0.28	0.17
website	0.2	0.2	1.79	0.63	0.11	0.23	0.21	0.17
WLAN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.07	0.17

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